

The Battle & Victory of King William  
The River Boyne in Ireland July 1. 1690



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# THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF Ireland.

Being an Account of all the Battles, Sieges and other considerable Transactions both Civil and Military, during the late Wars there, till the entire Reduction of that Country by the Victorious Arms of our most Gracious Sovereign,

## King William.

To which is prefixed, A Brief Relation of the Ancient Inhabitants, and first Conquest of that Nation by King Henry II. and of all the remarkable Passages in the Reign of every King to this time; Particularly the Horrid Rebellion and Massacre in 1641. With the Popish and Arbitrary Doings that were carried on there, in the last Reigns.

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By R. Burton

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D. M. A.

TO THE  
Reader.

THE Kingdom of Ireland, has for several Ages been an *Acelandia*, or Field of Slaughter, watered with the Blood of English Men; occasioned by their Repeated Rebellions, and inveterate aversion to the English Nation, in pursuance whereof, they have left no Treacheries, Murders, or Villanies unattempted, being encouraged thereto by their Ignorant and Superstitious Priests, to whose Dictates, this Stupid People entirely Submit, and who endeavour to Foment and Cherish this Inexorable hatred, formerly under pretence of Recovering their Liberty, but since the Reformation upon account of Difference in Religion, which made them very Troublesome to the Renowned Queen Elizabeth, and as one Chief occasion of the Horrid and Bloody Massacre in 1641.

## To the Reader.

In the late Reigns, they were somewhat quieter, receiving much Favour and Countenance from the Court; but upon his present Majesties Glorious Expedition into this Kingdom, they made an absolute Defection from the Crown of England, and had Totally Reduced that Country to Popish Idolatry, and French Slavery, if his Majesties Victorious Arms, and Admirable Conduct, had not by the Blessing of Heaven, Reconquered and Reduced this Stubborn Nation to their former Subjection ) Of which the following History gives a brief Account, as well as of the Ancient Inhabitants thereof, and of all Considerable Matters from its first Conquest, to this time; which being full of Variety and Delight, I doubt not, will be as Acceptable to the Reader, as my former Mean Endeavours of this Kind.

R. B.

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# THE HISTORY Of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

IRELAND hath been always accounted a Land of wonders, and many strange Relations have been made thereof, though the greatest wonder seems to be, that such incredible stories should be told, and so firmly believed as they are by the Irish and divers others, to this very day; To give you a taste of them, we find it recorded in their Historians that in the North of Munster there are two Islands, a greater and less; in the first never any Woman or Female Creature entreth but they instantly dye, as hath been experimented by Bitches, and She Cats, brought thither to that purpose. The Cock Birds, Sing, and hop upon the Trees, but the Hens, avoid it as a fatal place. The lesser is called the Living Isle, because none can dye therein, and therefore those that dwell here when they are even tyred with living, by reason of Sicknes or Old age, desire to be conveyed thither, and no sooner arrive, but they give up the Ghost. In the West part of Connaught say they, there is an island called Aren to which St. Brendan doth often resort, the Air whereof is so great an enemy to putrefaction, that they never bury the Bodies of the dead, but are kept above ground

without the least smell or offence, so that a Son may there view his Father, Grandfather and all his Relations for many Ages past.

In Ulster is a Lake thirty thousand paces long, and fifteen thousand broad, out of which ariseth the noble Northern River called Bane wherein there are abundance of great Fish, so that the Nets are oft broken. It is believed by the Inhabitants that there were very wicked, vicious people formerly living in this place, and there was an Old Prophecy in every ones mouth, that when ever a Well which was therein, and was continually covered and lockt up carefully, should be left open, so great a quantity of Water should issue thereout as would forthwith overflow the whole adjacent Countrey. It happened that an Old Beldam coming to fetch Water heard her Child cry, upon which running away in haste she forgot to cover the Spring, and coming back to do it, the Land was so over-run that it was past her help, and at length She, her Child, and all in that Territory were drowned, which caused this Pool that remains to this day. A strange Spring is likewise discoursed of in Ulster, wherewith if a man wash his hair or beard they presently turn grey, and another of a contrary quality, making all grey hair black. I have seen a man, saith my Author, who washing half his beard with this Water it was all White, the other part remaining Brown. In Connaught is a Well on the Top of a Hill that Ebbs and Flows equally with the Sea, yet the Water's fresh.

At Cawlenock near Dublin is a Window neither glazed nor latticed, yet a Candle being set there in the greatest wind or storm, burns as quietly as in the greatest calm; and a Spring, the water whereof is wholesome to humane Bodies, but poison to Beasts. In Kildare is a curious Field upon a Hill where the Irish say a great Battle will one time or other be fought

fought between the Irish and English, with such vast effusion of bloud that a Mill in a Valley hard by, shall be turned Four and twenty hours with the streams thereof. In a Plain in this County, they relate those stones were formerly placed which are now on Salisbury Plain, and conveyed thither with sleight of hand by Merlin the Welch Prophet, at the request of Aurelius Ambrofius, King of the Brittauns. In the South part of Munster is an Island blest by St. Brendane a famous she Saint in this Island with this strange quality, That if any Hare, Stag or other wild Beast be chased thereabout, it makes toward this Islet, swimming over a small stream into it, whither the Dogs dare not pursue, but standing on this side the Bank, see their Enemy sit there securely, protected by some invisible Bars from danger. But the most Remarkable wonder of all is that of St. Patricks Purgatory thus described by the Superstitious Irish Writers. In Ulster there is a Pool which incompasseth an Island, in one part whereof stands a Church exceedingly enlightened by the glorious appearance of Angels, the rest of the Isle is dark and horrid, seeming only a Den for Devils and Evil Spirits, wherein is a Pit which by a door leadeth into a Cave of Stone divided into seven parts, which is call'd St. Patricks Purgatory, for when this Irish Saint preached the Gospel to them, and told them of Joys eternal in another life for the Godly, and miserable Torments to the Wicked, the People came and spake thus to him : 'Sir, Though we like your preaching yet we are not willing to lose our liberty, you tell us many strange stories, persuading us to forsake our pleasures and delights on Earth, for which you promise us a reward in an unknown place in the other World. You likewise threaten us with a dismal Dungeon appointed for Offenders, which if we could believe to be true would more effectually

'effectually prevail with us to leave our Delights,  
'than any other Motive.

St. Patrick perceiving that the fear of Torment had more influence upon them than the blessedness of Heaven, prayed earnestly that God would give them some resemblance of the future misery of sinful Souls, whereupon he was directed to this place, wherein if any Person would enter, he was to prepare himself by prayer and fasting 15 days, during which time the Friars represented to him the horrors of the place, and how the evil Spirits would torture them, so that as soon as they were in, what for want of Food and Sleep, their fancies have been much disturbed, and they have dreamed of those terrible things that have been told them; which indeed was the whole Mystery of all these illusions, as divers affirmed, who tryed the Experiment in those Superstitious times; however the Priests made good use of it, by gaining Credit and Money from the poor deluded People. Neither is that Excellent Blessing procured to this Island by the Prayers of their Patron St. Patrick to be forgot, namely their Freedom from Serpents: and all other venomous Creatures, to confirm which, one of their Authors confidently Relates the following story. A young Man in the North of England, lying asleep in the Fields, with his Mouth open, an Adder crept into it, and so down into his Belly, and tormented him with such violent pains, that he desired his Friends to kill him, it never ceasing to tear and rend his Bowels, but while he was eating; Medicines, nor Pilgrimages to Saints would do no good; at length being advised to go to Ireland, he no sooner arrived there, and had eat and drank upon the Island, but the Serpent was immediately killed within him, and voiding it downward, was instantly cured, and returned in good health to England. So that it was a

## Kingdom of Ireland.

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A Proverb formerly, there was nothing venomous in Ireland, but the Men and Women, which was intended of the Savage and Brütish manners of the Wild Irish.

Neither was the inhabiting of this Countrey less miraculous, than the place, especially as to the Antiquity thereof, for it is recorded in the Irish Chronicles, that when the Patriarch Noah, threatened the people of the Old World, that vengeance would follow their wickednes, and thereupon built an Ark to convince them, that the whole Earth would be overflown in a few years, the generality disregarded his Admonitions, only Cesarea Noahs Niece believing her Uncles Prophecy, got a Ship, and accompanied with three Men, and fifty Women, resolved to find out some Country, never yet Inhabited, but unspotted with Vice, and thereby free from the Sentence of Gods wrath; After long Sailing, and many Dangers, they at length arrived in Ireland, but within forty days after their Landing the Universal Deluge came, and swapt away all thele new Inhabitants at once; This they say, happened in the year after the Creation of the World. 1555. Which was very wonderful, being long before the Art of Navigation was invented.

But to let this pass with as little credit, as the Reader pleases, it will be a sufficient Honour to the Antiquity of the Irish, to allow that their Countrey was first peopled by some of Noahs Kindred, even as soon as any Island in the World, for their Histories relate, that about two hundred years after the Flood, upon the confusion of Tongues at Babel, Japhet and his Posterity, imboldaed by Noahs Ark, built a Ship, wherein they adventured to make new Discoveries in the unknown parts of the World; among them was one Bastolenus, who incouraged by the example of Nimrod, then Monarch of Assy-

ria, resolved to settle a Kingdom in these Western Islands, where he might Rule without Controul, and at length, Fortune brought him and his People to the Coast of Ireland, where he settled; and left three Sons behind him. Among his Followers, were some of the Posterity of *Cham*, that were Giants, who by the example of *Ninus*, Rebelled against their King, and set up another, who contended together with dubious Success; at length the Giants were utterly subdued, their Enemies sparing neither Man, Woman nor Child, and to satisfie their Revenge to the full, they would not vouchsafe to bury them; but let them lye like dead Dogs, the stench whereof caused such a mortal Pestilence, that few of the Victors escaped with Life; but those who fled away by Sea, to avoid the Infection.

And here our Irish Author tells us, that one of the Giants named *Ruanus*, who was preserved, lived above Two Thousand years after ( twice the Age of *Methusalem* ) by whom St. Patrick was throughly informed of the state of this Country, and being Baptized by him, dyed in the year of our Lord 430. Some few of these Giants, hid themselves in Caves and Dens after the last Battle, till Famine forced them to seek for Relief, when creeping out, and finding no Resistance, they grew Bolder, and having notice how matters had happened, settled themselves in the best part of the Countrey; Then *Magog*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*, Inhabiting in *Scythia*, in process of time, several of his Posterity desirous to seek adventures, landed in Ireland, but were chased thence by the Giants, after Wars had continued between them 216. Years. Next, the five Sons of *Dela* from *Greece* came hither; and utterly routed the Giants, being before weakened by their own Dissension, and then Divided the Country into five provinces, as they are at this Day, fixing a Stone in the midst

midst of the Country, to make the Division more equal, but at length ambition prevailing, one of these Sons named Slanius, subdued his other Brethren, and Reigned alone, but was interrupted in his new Dominion, by an Army of Scythians, who invaded the Land, and after them the Brittains, and then the Scots under Gathelus, as is afore-mentioned, came from Spain, and fixed here, Reigning a great while in peace, till the Picts came thither out of Scythia under Roderick, being accidentally cast a shore upon those Coasts, who were brought before the King of Ireland, to whom Roderick thus spake.

' It is not because we degenerate from the courage  
' of our Ancestors, but by the Frowns of Fortune,  
' that we are now become humble Supplicants to  
' Ireland, who never yet submitted to any other Na-  
' tion; Behold Sir King, and regard us well and then  
' believe that it is no small occasion which makes  
' our lusty Bodies thus to stoop. Scythians, we are  
' even Picts of Seythia, from which two Namer,  
' there redounds to us much Glory; we will not  
' whine and complain, that Civil Wars at home for-  
' ced us from our own Country, thereby to move  
' pity in you towards Strangers let our Servants and  
' Children discourse that at Leisure, we only desire  
' the Favour to Refide some short time in your Land,  
' as our Necessities require. A King craves this kind-  
' nes of a King, and Souldiers of Souldiers; Prin-  
' ces are easily sensible how much it concerns their  
' Honour and Interest, to Relieve and Support other  
' Princes oppressed by Trayterous practices; yea,  
' all Men are naturally inclined to have Compassion  
' of their fellow Creatures, and to be sensibly touch-  
' ed with their calamities. Admit then, we beseech  
' you, these scattered Remnants of Scythia. If your  
' Land be narrow, we are not many, if your soil

' be Barren, we are born and bred to Hardiness. If  
' you live in peace, we are at your Command as  
' Subjects. If you make War, we are ready to serve  
' you as 'Souldiers? We demand no Kingdom, no  
' State, no Pomps, nor Triumphs in Ireland, we are  
' here alone, and have left those things behind us,  
' with our Enemies, howsoever you dispose of us,  
' we shall be content therewith, not rememb'ring  
' what we formerly have been, but what we now  
are.

After mature consultation with their Ancient Records, which forbid them to mingle divers Nations in one Realm, as occasioning quarrels and dissensions, and considering their want of Room, they perswaded these strangers to go into Brittaine, providing Ships and Guides to convey them thither, who landed them in the North parts, now called Scotland, where contrary to their expectation, Marius King of the Brittauns, waiting their coming, fell upon them, and slew King Roderick, and most of his Followers, those who escaped, upon humble Submission, he licensed to inhabit the uttermost parts of Scotland; at length Fergus came out of Ireland with his Scots, and inhabited there, as is already related. The Irish, as some Authors Write, were first converted to Christianity by St James the Apostle about this time, though them selves say, that Paladius was first sent from Pope Celestine to preach the Gospel to them, and after him the Renowned St. Patrick, who acted wonders among them, making many female Saints, and among others, St. Bridget, a By-blowne of a Captain in Leinster, who finding his wench with Child, after she was Delivered of this Bridget, sold her privately to an Irish Conjurer, for fear of his Wives Jealousie; the young Lass was instructed in the Faith by St. Patrick, and was of so great Judgment, that not only the people, but a whole Synod of Bishops assem-

assembled near Dublin to hear her Wise Counsel in many weighty causes. - One action in her Childhood made her famous : The King of Leinster had bestowed on her Father for his good Service, a Rich Sword, garnished with many costly Jewels : This Damsel going often to visit her poor sick neighbours, and having not wherewithal to relieve them by reason of the covetousness of her Father and Mother, she secretly gave them those Jewels out of that useless Sword, which being known, the King was much offended thereat, and coming one time to Banquet with her Father, he called her before him, not yet above nine years old, demanding how she durst in that manner deface the gift of a King, she answered, 'They are bestowed upon a better King than you, 'whom finding in such extremity I would have given all that my Father, yea all that you had, and 'your selves too, if it were in my power, rather than Jesus Christ should starve.'

In the year of Christ 586 the Danes or Norwegians, being much inclined to invade other Countreys, sensible they could not find more Barren Lands than their own, grew dreadful both by Sea and Land, seizing upon the Isles of Orkney, and going from thence to Ireland, under one Turgesius, conquering the Irish Kings ; and reigned thirty years, exercising all kind of Tyranny upon the Nobility and Commons ; it happened that the King of Meath was in some trust with him, of whom he required his only Daughter for his Concubine ; the Father readily answered, ' saving your Highnesses Fancy, there are divers Ladies of Quality in this Countrey, fitter Bed-fellows for a King, than my Brown Girl ; and then reckoned up many of his Nieces and Cousens, exclaiming them to be rather Angels than mortal Creatures, that he even ravished the Tyrant with Joy before he saw them ; but making some delay he began

began to suspect that it was only a trick to preserve his Daughter from him ; to take off which the King of Meath spake thus to him ; ‘ If I should say that I willingly gave you my only Daughter to be deflowered, your Highnes wisdom would surely judge I did but flatter you, and yet if ten such Daughters were dearer to me than the satisfying your pleasure by whose bounty and goodnes she, and I, and all the rest are supported, I should be unworthy of that Friendship and Confidence, which you are pleased to allow me ; as for the Wench, she must needs reckon it a great honour to be admitted to to the Bed of so great a Prince, since Queens have formerly taken long Journeys, to yield themselves up to Noble Conquerors, in hope to have issue by them ; if there be any scandal in it, a short time will wear that out, but such a friend as you have been to me and mine, I can never hope to find, and therefore fear your displeasure more than the loss of Twenty Maidenheads, since Fathers have not valued to give their own Wives to satisfie the Lusts of their Sons ; appoint then the time and place, remote from your Court, and I will send you my Daughter accompanied with twelve or sixteen Ladies, the meanest of whom is an Empress in comparison of her, and when they are before you, chuse your Game as you like, and if my Child chance to please you, she cannot be too good to be at your Command, I desire only that if any other of your friends shall require the same favour, your Majesty would remember whose Daughter she is.

The Tyrant dismissed him with repeated thanks for this liberal offer, and the King of Meath at the time appointed, drest up his Daughter in the best manner, and with her sixteen handsome beautiful young Men in Womens clothes who were all presented

sented to him in his privy Chamber, none being present but a few debauched attendants, whereupon these Young Men drew out their Daggers, and killed the Tyrant and all the rest with very small resistance; this act was soon blown over all Ireland, and the oppressed Princes instantly rose in Arms to recover their Liberties; all Meath and Leinster quickly assembled, whom the King commanding for their forwardness in so natural a quarrel, thus encouraged; 'my Lords and Friends, the case neither admitteth delay, nor requires any great consulting, speed and courage is all in all, while the thing is fresh and new, and some of our Enemies are still and asleep, some lament, others curse, some are counselling, but all dismayed, let us prevent their fury, dismember their strength, cut off their flight, and seize upon their places of refuge and defence; it is no Victory if we pluck their Feathers, and do not break their Necks, not to chase them in, but to rouse them out, to weed them, not to rake them ever; not to tread them down, but utterly to root them up; this lesson the Tyrant himself taught me, for demanding once of him by way of Parable, how Land might be freed from certain ravenous Fowl's that annoyed it, he advised us to watch where they bred, and fire their Nests about their Ears; let us go then, and fall upon these Cormorants which shrowd themselves in our possessions; and let us destroy them, that neither nest nor root, neither seed nor stalk, neither branch nor stump, remain of this cursed and ungracious Generation.'

He had scarce ended his Oration, when the People with shouts of Joy extolled him as the Defender of their Lives and Liberties, assuring him of their utmost assistance, and so joining their Forces, they with a running Camp in a very short time cleared every

every corner of the Land of the Norwegians, razing their Castles to the ground, killing all that resisted, and banishing the rest, whereby every Prince again recovered his own Government. The Histories of Denmark relate that, some time before this, Fridle-nus, King of the Danes, arriving in Ireland, besieged Dublin, but perceiving it hard to take by reason of the strength of the Walls, he contrived to catch a number of Swallows who had their Nests in the Houses within the City, and tying Wildfire to their feet they flying home set the Houses on Fire, which whilst the Citizens endeavoured to quench, they entered the City : after which Gonno the third King of Denmark, though a Pagan, Married Thyra Daughter to the Christian King Etheldred of Brittain, by whom he had two Sons, Canute and Harold, who first invaded England and then Ireland, where at the Siege of Dublin Canute was slain, who for his Valour was so extreamly beloved by his Father that he vowed to kill him with his own hands who should bring him Tydings of his Death. Gonno was now very old and blind, pleasing himself in nothing more than hearing of the Victories of his Sons ; when therefore Q. Thyra had notice of her Sons Death, which neither she nor any other durst discover to him, she contrived to clothe her Husband all in Mourning, and prepared all other things usual at a Funeral, and then used many lamentable expressions of grief for the loss of some Friend, which Gonno perceiving, ‘ wo is me, said he, you then signifie the Death of my Son Canute ; whereunto she answered ‘ that he himself, and not she, had now discovered the Truth ; whereupon for grief thereof he instantly gave up the Ghost.

We find little material in the Irish Chronicles, from this time till the Conquest thereof by King Henry the Second, which how it was occasioned I shall

shall now relate. In the year 1167. Dermot Mac-mur King of Leinster possessed all the East parts of the Isle along the Seacoasts, using great cruelty toward the Lords and Gentry ; it happened that Morrice King of Meath going far into the Country, Dermot in the mean time stole away his Queen by her consent, which Morrice upon his return resolving to revenge, represented it to Roderick O Connor King of Connaught and Monarch of all Ireland, beseeching his assistance against the vile Adulterer ; the People of Leinster, detesting both Dermot and his quarrel for his former Tyrannies, universally forsook him, so that he was forced to fly to King Henry the Second for succour, who was then employed in his Wars in France ; Henry had before cast an eye upon Ireland, because they always assisted the French with men, and Adrian an Englishman being now Pope he obtained his consent for the Conquest thereof, upon condition of reducing the Inhabitants to Christianity, who were almost turn'd barbarous ; at this very time Dermot offered him his service, of which he was very joyful, but having Wars with France, he had not opportunity to go with him, and therefore taking an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience from him, he took him into his Protection, and for his more speedy assistance sent him into England honourably attended, with Letters Patents to this effect, ' Henry King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou, to all our Faithful Subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Welch-men and Scots, and to all other Nations whatsoever subject to our Dominion sendeth Greeting. ' When these Letters shall come to your hands, know ye that we have received Dermot Prince of Leinster into the bosom of our Grace and Benevolence, wherefore whosoever of our loving Subjects within our Dominions will aid, assist, and restore him as

as our Leige-man and Faithful Subject, be you assured that you have not only our license, but shall receive our favour and thanks for the same; with these Letters he arrived at Bristow, where he agreed with Richard Strongbow Earl of Pembroke to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, for which the Earl was the next Spring to settle him in his Kingdom, which was to descend to him in right of his Wife after Dermots decease, in the mean time Robert Fitz Stephens and Maurice Fitz Gerald his Brother, Gentlemen of Wales, promised Dermot that if he would assure them an Estate in the Town of Wexford for ever, they would assist him to begin the recovery of his Country, while the Earl of Pembroke was providing stronger Forces, and accordingly Dermot going over privately before, they with Thirty Knights, Sixty Esquires, and Three Hundred Archers landed in Ireland, being the first Englishmen that ever came thither, and marching toward Wexford, Dormet met with them with five Hundred Men, and joining their Forces they soon took the Town of Wexford, which was freely given to Fitz Stephens, according to their Covenant, and their Army daily increasing they prevailed so much that Roderick the Monarch assembled all the Petty Kings to defend their Country; at length an Agreement was made, whereby Dermot was restored to his former Estate; and more Forces arriving from England, Dermot incouraged thereby resolved to be revenged of those of Dublin who had been great Enemies to him and his Father, and marching thither they soon submitted themselves to him.

Now arrived the Earl of Pembroke with a considerable aid, wherewith he made such notable Conquests that King Henry growing jealous of his greatness, sent an Edict to recal all the English out of Ireland, but the troubles raised by Thomas Becket

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Arch-bishop of Canterbury hindred the Prosecution thereof; Pembroke was then in Dublin, where he was closely besieged by the Irish under Roderick (Dermot dying some time before) and was at last reduced to such extremity that they resolved to Sally forth and dye like men, rather than starve, and so issuing out with not above two or three hundred men, they valiantly assaulted their Enemies Camp, consisting of near Thirty Thousand, with so much resolution, that with great slaughter of them they obtained a Glorious Victory, chasing their Enemies till night came on, and then returning Triumphant-ly with abundance of Provisions and Rich Spoil into the City, Roderick himself hardly escaping with his Life, after which the Earl of Pembroke coming into England surrendered Dublin and all the Castles and Forts on the Sea-coasts to King Henry, and thereby removed his Jealousie, and was again received into favour.

In 1172 King Henry the Second landed with a considerable Army, whom Roderick in behalf of himself, and all the other petty Princes of that Kingdom acknowledged for his Sovereign Lord, and the suprem Prince of all that Island, so that none refused obedience to Henry, but only the Province of Ulster; the Christmas after, the King Royally feasted all those Princes, who were become his subjects, at Dublin, and then taught the Irish first to eat Cranes flesh, which was before abhorred by them. He then called a Synod where divers abuses were reformed, and new Canons made for the future Government of the Church, and among others, 'That since it had pleased God to bring them under the English Dominion, they should for the future observe all the Rites and Ceremonies of the English Church.' Soon after King Henry returned to England, being summoned by the Pope to answer for

for the death of Thomas Becket, which occasioned much Trouble. In 1185. Henry made over all his Right and Title to Ireland, to his youngest Son John, after King of England, who Landing at Waterford, accompanied with a few Dissolute Companions, whose advice he only regarded, caused great Commotions, whereupon he went back again the same year. After the Death of his Brother Richard the first, John succeeded, and came again into Ireland, settling the Country, and Banishing the Latics for some Misdemeanors, but upon submission, gave them pardon, though not without paying him great Fines.

In 1300. Edward the first sent for Aid out of Ireland, to Assist him in his Wars against Scotland, and after his Death, the Scots invaded Ireland, being Assisted by the Wild Irish, whereby the Country was miserably ruined, four Princes of Connaught joining with them; but by the valour of the English, eleven Thousand were slain in one Fight, among whom were the King of Connaught, Okelley a great Lord, and divers others. The Death of Okelley is somewhat Remarkable; The Lord Birmingham Commander of the English Army, sent one John Hussey his Esquire into the Field, to view the dead Bodies, and search whether his old mortal Enemy Okelley, were slain among the rest; Hussey goes only with one man to turn up the Bodies, and was presently espied by Okelley, that lay lurking behind a bush, who knowing Hussey to be a stout man, came towards him, and said. ‘Hussey, thou seest I am Armed at all points, as well as my Esquire, thou art naked with thy Page only, so that had I not a great kindness for thee, for thine own sake, I would slay thee for the sake of thy Master, but if thou wilt come and serve me, as I desire, I promise upon St. Patricks Staff, to make thee a

Lord

' Lord of a greater Estate in Connacht, than thy Master hath in Ireland. These words not prevailing upon Hussey, a lusty fellow belonging to Okelly, began to reproach him for refusing so fair an offer ; so that Hussey had now three to deal with, he therefore dispatcht this fellow first, and then struck Okelleys Esquire, such a blow under the Ear, that he laid him for dead, Lastly, he fell upon Okelley himself, and instantly slew him ; and then perceiving the Esquire, who was only astonished with the stroke, to revive again, he caused him to carry his Lords Head upon a Truncheon, and presented it to Bretingham who for this notable Service, Knighted Hussey, and gave him large possessions, the Successors of whose Family, were after Lords of Galtrim.

In King Edward the Seconds Reign, the Lord Roger Mortimer was sent over Justice into Ireland, at which time Edward Bruce, Brother to Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, who had taken several places, and caused himself to be Crowned King of Ireland, was slain in a great Battle, wherein the Scots were vanquished ; one Mawpas an Englishman, who rushed into the midst of the fight to encounter Bruce hand to hand, was in the search found dead fallen upon the Body of Bruce. This year 1320. An University was erected in Dublin, about which time the Lady Alice Kettell, with her two Companions, Petronelle and Basell were charged with Inchantment, and that they had conference every Night with a Spirit called Robin Artisson, to whom they Sacrificed in the Highway 9 red Cocks, and 11 Peacockes eyes, and that this Lady swept the Streets of Kilkenny in the Twilight, bringing all the filth to the Door of her Son William Outlaw, muttering these words ;

' To the House of William my Son,  
' Go all the Wealth of Kilkenny Town.

The

The Lady made her escape; but in searching her Closet ( saith my Author ) they found a Wafer of Sacramental Bread, having the Devils Name stamped thereon instead of Jesus Christ, and an Ointment wherewith she greased a staff, upon which she galloped through thick and thin, as she pleased ; Petronelle was burnt at Kilkenny, upon this account. In the Reign of King Edward the Third, 1329. The Irish in Meath and Leinster, Rebelled and Vanquisht the Earl of Ormond, burning fourscore English in a Church, and committing woful outrages, at length the Citizens of Wexford falling upon them, slew 400, the rest being drowned in the Water of Slane. At this time Sir Robert Savage a wealthy Knight dwelt in Ulster, who to secure himself from the incursions of the Irish, began to fortifie his Mannor Houses with Castles and Ditches, exhorting his Son and Heir to do the same, for the benefit of himself and Posterity ; Father, says young Savage, I remember the Proverb, better a Castle of Bones, than of Stones, where I have the strength and courage of Men, by the Grace of God, I will never incumber my self with dead Walls, my Fort shall be the youthful Blood of my Friends, and where I have room to fight. The Father in a fume left building ; but the neglect of this Counsel, was the Ruin of that and many other English Families in Ulster. This Savage having raised Forces against the Irish, gave to every man before the fight a stout Cup of Aquavita, Wine or strong Ale, and provided Plenty of Beef, Venison and Fowls, for their return which his Captains disliking, considering the uncertainty of War, since the Enemy might happen to feast upon the same, they being so few against a multitude of Irish, he smiling, ' Gentlemen, said he, You are too full of Envy, this World is but an Inn, wherein we have no certain Interest, but are only

'only Tenants at the will of the Lord. If it please  
'him to command us hence, as from our Lodging,  
'and set other good fellows in our Room, what hurt  
'can it be for us to leave them meat for their Sup-  
'pers? Let them stoutly win it, and eat it. If they  
'should come to our Houses, we could not but wel-  
'com them with what the Countrey affords, and  
'therefore much good may it do them with all my  
'Heart; however, I have such confidence in your  
'Courage and Gallantry, that I doubt not but we  
'shall return home safe at Night, and Banquet mer-  
'rily upon our own Provisions. Which happened  
accordingly, for falling upon them, they in a short  
time cut off three thousand Irish-men, and returned  
triumphantly home.

In 1394. King Richard the Second being much grieved for the Death of his beloved Queen Ann, not able to endure his Chambers of State without Tears, passed over into Ireland, to divert himself, where divers Princes renewed their Homage to him. In 1398. the Irish Rebelling, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, the Kings Lieutenant was slain, with divers other Persons of Quality, to Revenge which, King Richard again sailed to Ireland, and had several successful Skirmishes against them, killing at one time, two hundred of the Rebels, and many more afterward, and then going to Dublin, he continued there some time, divers Lords and Princes submitting themselves, and were received very courteously by him. During his stay here, he had intelligence, that Henry Duke of Lancaster his Uncle, whom he had lately Banished, was returned into England, designing to deprive him of his Crown, whereupon he committed the Dukes Son, and the Duke of Gloucesters Son, both then in Ireland, Prisoners to the Castle of Trim, and then imbarquing arrived in Wales, where he found such weak assistance, that at length

length he fell into his Adversaries Hands, and was Deposed by Authority of Parliament, the Duke of Lancaster being admitted to Reign in his stead, by the Name of Henry the Fourth. In whose Second year, Sir Stephen Scroop was made Lieutenant, who was much exclaimed against by the People, for his former Violences and Extortions under King Richard, upon which, his Lady assured him, she would no longer continue with him there, unless he took a Solemn Oath upon a Bible, not knowingly or willingly to wrong any Christian Creature in that Kingdom, and to repair all the wrongs he had done, she having made such a Vow to Christ, that unless this were performed, she could not live with him, without peril of her soul. Her Husband consented here-to, and became afterwards as Famous for Justice, as he had been before Infamous for Oppression.

In the Reign of King Henry 5. 1420. James Butler Earl of Ormond being Lieutenant, some of the Irish Lords making Insurrections, the Earl fought with them in the red Moor of Athy, where ( faith my Author ) the Sun being almost down, miraculously stood still for three hours, till the Irish who were commanded by Omore, and his Terrible Army, were utterly vanquished, with the loss of a very few English, neither did the bog or quagmire indamage either Horse or Man of Ormonds party, till thefeat was accomplished, but continued firm, like other ground. In King Henry the Sixths Reign, Richard Duke of York, Father to Edward the fourth, was Lieutenant, his second son George, after Duke of Clarence, being born in the Castle of Dublin. The Earl of Desmund was Deputy in Edward the fourths time, who speaking Disgracefully of the Kings marrying the Lady Elizabeth Gray, she caused his Government in Ireland to be examined, and for  
misdemea-

misdemeanours therein, he was Condemned and Beheaded at Tredagh.

Girald Earl of Kildare, was Deputy in Henry the Seventh's time, to whom Richard Symonds a subtle Priest applied himself, bringing to him a young lad his Scholar, named Lambert, whom he affirmed to be the Son of George Earl of Clarence, lately escaped out of the Tower of London; the Youth had been so well tutored, and acted the part of a Prince so Gracefully, that the Earl of Kildare and many others of the Nobility espoused his quarrel, and Crowned him King in Dublin, with much Joy and Triumph; and then raising Forces, they Imbarqued for England, and Landed in Lancashire, but were Defeated by King Henry's Army, and Lambert taken, but pardoned for Life. In 1460. The Dutchess of Burgundy, raised another Spirit or Illusion, one Perkin Warbeck, whom she sent into Ireland, assuring the Lords, that he was the youngest Son of King Edward the Fourth, named Richard; who had been strangely preserved from the Cruelty of his Uncle Crook-back; but he being taken Prisoner, confessed the whole Imposture.

In King Henry the 8ths time, the Earl of Kildare was continued Deputy; a plain, open-hearted man, very passionate, and soon appeased. Being once in a great Rage with his Servants, one of his Esquires offered Mr. Boyce, a Gentleman retainer, an Irish Hobby, upon Condition he would just then pluck a hair from the Earls Beard: Mr. Boice took him at his word, and knowing the Earls good Nature, stepped to him, and acquainted him with the business.  
Well, said the Earl, I am content, but if thou pluck above one Hair, I shall reach thee a sound Box on the Ear. Being accused before Henry the Seventh for burning the Cathedral of Cashels, and many Witnesses appearing to justify it, he suddenly confess'd

felt the Fact, to the Wonder and Detestation of those present; who admiring how he would come off, By Jesus ( says he ) I would never have done it, had I not been told, that the Arch-bishop was within it. Now he being there present and principal Accuser, the King Laughed at the plainness of the man, that he should alledge that for an Excuse, which was the greatest Aggravation of his offence; Lastly, they sum'd up all in this Article, Finally, all Ireland cannot rule this Earl, No, quoth the King? then in good Faith he shall Rule all Ireland; and thereupon constituted him Deputy.

In 1521. Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, after Duke of Norfolk was made Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of Kildare was by the Contrivance of his Enemies, summoned over into England, to answer several Accusations against him, and being brought before the Council, the proud Cardinal Wolsey, then Lord Chancellor, charged him with several Misdemeanours, as holding Correspondence with the Irish Rebels especially the Earl of Desmond, his Kinsman, who had been Treating with the French and Emperor, about invading the Island, and not seizing him when in his power, with divers other Crimes, using these Expressions to Kildare among others, ' Surely this jugling and false play, becomes neither a man of Honesty nor Honour; had you but lost a Horse or a Cow, two hundred of your Retainers had come at your whistle to rescue the Prey, even from the uttermost parts of Ulster; all the Irish in the Country, must have fled before you; but in pursuing so great an Enemy as Desmond, merciful God! How nice, how fearful, how backward have you been? One while he is from home, another time he keeps close home, sometimes he is fled, sometimes on the Borders, where you dare not venture; I find my Lord, there are dreadful Bugbears on

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'the Borders, which affright the Earl of Kidare,  
'Earl, nay King of Kildare, for when you please,  
'you can command like an Emperour, where you  
'are malicious, the most Loyal Subjects are accoun-  
'ted Irish Enemies, and where you please an Irish  
'Rebel, shall pass for a dutiful Subject, Hearts and  
'Hands, Lives and Fortunes, lye all at your pleasure  
'and those that do not fawn upon you, and flatter  
'you, dare not presume to come into your pre-  
'sence.

The Earl, as well as the Lords of the Council, were much offended at this odious and abusive Discourse, which was usual with the Cardinal, desiring him to name and prove particulars ; at length Kildare being out of patience, interrupted him, saying; 'I find my Lord, that you are very fit to be the mouth of this Board, but my Lord, those that put these words into your Graces Mouth, had very wide ones themselves, and have long gaped for my Ruine, and having no other stuff, have filled their Mouths with Smoak ; what my Cousen Desmond hath Contrived, I know not, I beshrew his naked Heart, for holding out so long, but what is this to me, cannot he Conspire, but I must be of his Council ? Cannot he hide, except I wink ? Can he have no Friends, but I must be the Traytor ? This is strange reasoning, you would not see him, say they, when was he within my View ? Who stood by, when I let him escape ? they will swear it, they say, why ? Because they have my Letters, they may lye lewdly against my Cousen Desmond, since none dares contradict them but for my part, I never thought them to have so much Wit Honesty, that I would have ventured the Life of a good Hound, upon their Secrecy or Silence, much less my own. Touching my Kingdom, I know not what your Lordship means. If your Grace imagine,

gine, that a Kingdom consists in serving God, obeying my Prince, Ruling with Love, suppressing Rebels, and executing Justice, I would be glad to be invested with so Royal a name, but if you Term me King, as Repining at the Government of my Sovereign, Conniving at Malefactors, or injuring the peaceable, I utterly Disclaim that odious Title, admiring that your Grace, out of your profound Wisdom, seems to appropriate so Sacred a Name, to such wicked Actions. But however, I wish my Lord, you and I were to change Kingdoms, but for one Month, I doubt not, but in that time, I should gather up more Crums, than the Revenues of my Earldom are worth. But you you are well and warm, and continue you so still, but do not upbraid me with such base Crimes, I slumber in a hard Cabin, while you sleep in a Bed of Down, I serve the King under the Cope of Heaven, when you are served at home under a Canopy; I drink Water out of my Iron Head-Piece, when you drink Wine out of Golden Cups; my Horse is Trained up for the Wars, while your Gennet is taught to Amble; You are Be-Graced, and Be-Lorded, you are crept and kneeled unto, when in the mean time, I can find small regard with the Irish Borderers, who are so stout, they will never kneel to me, except I cut off their Legs by the Knees.

The Council were much pleased at these sharp girds of Kildare against Wolsey, who rising up in a Fury, committed the Earl to Prison, but he was afterwards bailed by the Duke of Norfolk, to the Cardinals great Grief, and entertained in his House; during which, the Irish made another Insurrection, and the Cardinal again charging Kildare, as the fomenter thereof, committed him to the Tower, for which he was much pityed by the Lieutenant and all

all the Court, who loved him heartily. One Night when the Lieutenant and he were playing at Shovel-Board, a Warrant was sent for executing Kildare, at which the Lieutenant fetching a deep sigh, By St. Bride, says he. ' Lieutenant, there is some mad game in that Scroll of Paper, but let it fall how it will, have at the Game. When he understood the Message, well said he, pray do me the Favour to go to the King, and know certainly whether it be his pleasure; The Lieutenant was much afraid of displeasing the Cardinal, yet kindness to his Friend prevailing, he posted to the King at Midnight, and having Admittance, shewed him the Warrant; the King incensed, as he said, at the Sawciness of the Priest, gave him his Signet in Token of a Countermand; which when the Cardinal understood, he raved and raged in such furious Language, that the Lieutenant went away, leaving him to mutter the Devils Pater-noster by himself. Shortly after Wolsey was thrown out of Favour, and the Earl restored to his Life and Estate, and Sir William Sheffington being made Deputy of Ireland, carried Kildare along with him.

About this time, the Lieutenant being at Dinner, News came, that the O Moors were in Arms, and ready to invade the English Pale; whereupon the Mayor of Dublin raising Forces, Marched against them, who dispersing themselves, a party fell upon the Carriages which were weakly Guarded, but were so warmly received, by a stout young Man named Patrick Fitz-Simmons, that he routed them, and cut off two of the Rebels Heads. Next Morning the Governors Men who fled from Fitz-Simmons, Reported that he run away, and the Carriages were lost; whereupon the Governor coming in a Rage to the Mayors Tent, cryed out, that his Man Fitz-Simmons was a Cowardly Traytor, in running away,

away, and losing the Carriages ; Fitz-Symmons skipping out of the Tent in his Shirt, with the two Heads in his Hand : ' My Lord, said he, I am no Coward, I stood to my Tackling, and when your Men gave me the slip, I rescued the Carriages, of which these Heads are a Token, throwing them down before him ; sayest thou so, cryed the Lieutenant, then I cry thee Mercy, and I would I had been with thee, and so praising and rewarding him, he Dismist him ; and soon after the O Moors retired to their Bogs and Fastnesses.

In 1532. The Earl of Kildare having several great Enemies in Ireland, was again sent for over into England, and charged with furnishing his own Forts with Artillery out of the Castle of Dublin, for which he was committed to Prison ; he left his Son and Heir, Thomas Fitz-Gerald Vice-Deputy in his stead ; who hearing his Father was in Custody, the Enemies of the Geraldines incited him to a Rebellion, thereby to destroy the Family of the Geralds. So that Lord Thomas calling a Council, his Horigmen and Servants rushed into the Chamber compleatly Armed, for he had been informed, that his Father was to be put to Death, and himself to be seized, and therefore resolved to defend himself ; turning then to the Chancellor, he said : ' How injuriously soever we have been used, and are thus forced to defend our selves by Armas, since our Service and Loyalty is misrepresented to our Prince, yet let none say hereafter, but we acted like Gentlemen and Soldiers, in using this open Hostility, and not Treacherously and Basely ; this Sword of State is yours, and not mine, I receiv'd it with an Oath, and have used it to your Benefit, and should therefore stain my Honour, if I should turn it to your Damage or Hurt ; I have now need of my own Sword, for the other only flattereth me with

a painted Scabbard, but hath indeed a Pestilent Edg, already bathed in the Blood of the Geraldines, and now newly whetted for further Destruction, defend your selves therefore from us, as from declared Enemies; I am none of King Henry's Deputy, I am his Mortal Foe, I have more mind to Conquer, than to Govern, to meet him in the Field, than to serve him as an Officer, if all the Hearts in England and Ireland, who have cause so to do, would joyn in this quarrel, as I hope they will, they would soon make him repent his Tyranny and Cruelty, for which the Ages to come may justly Register him amongst the most Barbarous Tyrants, of Abominable and Hateful Memory.

The Lord Chancellor taking Lord Thomas by the hand, requested him for the love of God, to hear a few words, and then made a most Passionate Oration, accompanied with many Tears, to dissuade him from this rash Enterprize, but all in vain, for Lord Thomas thus proceeded; 'It is very easie for the sound, to give Counsel to the Sick, if the Case were yours, you would be as impatient, it may be as I; as you require me to Honour my Prince, so Duty binds me to Reverence my Parents; therefore he that Tyrannically designs to kill my innocent Father, and threatens my Destruction, I will never acknowledge to be my King; if, as you intimate, I happen to miscarry, I had rather dye valiantly, and at Liberty, than live under Henry in Slavery and Bondage: With these words delivering up the Sword, he flung away like a Madman, and assembling all the Irish he could get together, they committed several Outrages and Mischiefs, and Seizing upon Alen Arch-Bishop of Dublin, his Old Enemy, his followers murdered him. At length after many Skirmishes, he was by the Lord Deputy

puty Gray perswaded to submit himself to the King; and going to England, was committed to the Tower, Orders being sent to Ireland for apprehending his five Uncles, who were all Seized, namely, James, Walter, Oliver, John, and Richard Fitz-Gerald, though two of them always opposed their Nephews Proceedings; but King Henry being incensed against them, because he was informed, that as long as any Geraldine breathed in the Countrey, he could never Conquer it. resolved to be rid of them all. Thus were the Five Brethren Sailing to England, some comforting themselves with the Kings Mercy, and others with their own Innocency, when Richard Fitz-Gerald, who was more Bookish than the rest, chanced to ask the Master, what the Name of his Ship was, who answering, it was called the Cow, 'nay then good Brethren, quoth he, I utterly despair of our return to Ireland, for I remember I have heard an Old Prophecy, that Five Brethren to an Earl, should be carryed into England in the Belly of a Cow, and never come back again: At which words, the rest began to howl and Lament in a grievous manner, which seemed very strange to the Spectators, that Five such Valiant Gentlemen should be so disturbed at an Old Prophecy. However, what he foretold, proved true, for they no sooner arrived, but Thomas Fitz-Gerald was Executed at Tower-Hill, and the Five Brethren Hanged and Quartered at Tyburn, the Old Earl of Kildare died for grief in the Tower, and Gerald the Younger Brother of Thomas flying out of Ireland, Travelled many Forreign Countries, and at length Died at Naples; Soon after the Lord Deputy Gray was Beheaded on Tower-Hill, being accused for holding Correspondence with the Fitz-Geralds, though many thought him Innocent thereof. In the Three and Thirtieth of King Henry the Eight, the

the Title of King of Ireland was by a Parliament settled upon him and his Successors for ever, whereas before they were only called Lords of Ireland.

During the short Reigns of King Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary, our Chronicles relate little of any Tranactions in Ireland; In 1565. The Seventh of Queen Elizabeth, for the great Fame of her Wisdom, Donald Mac Carti More, a great Potentate of Ireland, came and delivered up into her hands, all his ample Territories, which she restored to him again, and in requital created him Earl of Glen-care, giving him many Presents and paying the expence of his Voyage. In 1570 O Brian Earl of Thomond, not brooking the severe Government of Edward Fitton, President of Connaught, entered into a Conspiracy, which being ready to break forth was strangely discovered. For the day before they meant to take up Arms, Fitton knowing nothing of it, sent word to the Earl in a friendly manner, that the next day he and some of his Friends would come and dine with him; the Earl having a guilty Conscience, thought his designs were revealed, and that Fitton would rather come as an Enemy than a Guest; Whereupon he presently fled to France, where he confessed the whole to Queen Elizabeths Ambassador, by whose Intercession he was afterwards pardoned and restored. Four years after Sir Henry Sydney Lord Deputy going into Ulster, several Irish Grandees submitted themselves and were received into favour.

In 1583 the famous Rebel Gerald Fitz-Gerald, the eleventh Earl of Desmond of this Family, having a long time escaped the English in his lurking places, was now discovered by a Common Soldier in a poor Cottage and there slain, his Head was sent into England and set upon London-bridge. This end had this great Lord, who possessed whole Countries,

treys, and had at least five hundred Gentlemen of his own Name and Race, all whom and his own Life also, he lost within three years, very few of his Family being left alive. And this disaster he fell into, by being Trayterous to his Prince, at the instigation of certain Popish Priests, of whom the chief was one Nicholas Sanders an Englishman, who at the same time died miserably of Famine; for running mad upon his ill success, he wandred up and down the Mountains, finding nothing to sustain him. In 1558, the Bourks raised a Rebellion, the Irish declaring they would have one of that Family rule over them, or some other Lord out of Spain; neither could they be quieted till the President of Connaughts Brother following them into the Woods, drove away five thousand head of their Cattel, so that after forty days, half starved they came forth and submitted themselves. But the President understanding that about this time two thousand Scotch Islanders were landed and joined with the Irish, and ready to break into Connaught, he musters up his Men to give them Battel; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as though in fear; thereby to draw them to the firm ground; and then set upon them with his whole force, slaying three thousand which was all their number except fourscore; by which notable Victory the insolent attempts of the Scotch Islanders, were wholly crushed.

In 1590. Hugh Cavelock, so called because he had been so long kept in Fetters, the Son of Chan O Neal, accused Hugh Earl of Tyrone for holding correspondence with the Spaniards in 88. who to prevent the accusation took a Cord, and with his own hands strangled Hugh; For which being sent for over, he was pardoned upon Condition of future obedience, and reducing the Countrey to Civility.

After

After this Mac-Mahon, a potentate of Ireland, compelled those under him to pay tribute, whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken and tried by a Jury of Common Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands between some of the Mahons and the English. Then Brian O Roch fearing he should be served in the same manner raised a Rebellion, and being defeated fled into Scotland, but at the Queens request was delivered up, and was arraigned at Westminster, for dragging the Queens Picture at an Horse-tail, and for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which being told him by an Interpreter, for he could speak no English, he said, 'he would not be tryed unless the Queen her self were Judge, but being informed this was the Law, he only said; 'If it must be so, it must be so, and was condemned and executed at Tyburn, which he valued as little as if all had been in Jest. In 1596 Tyrone with considerable forces raised a Rebellion and was proclaimed Traytor, after which he gave the English a great defeat, whereupon all Ulster, Munster and Connaught were in Arms against the English; at length the Earl of Essex was sent against him, who instead of fighting made a Truce with him. But afterwards, the English so prevailed that Tyrone finding his condition desperate resolved to throw himself upon the Queens mercy without Conditions; hereupon being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the Room he fell on his Knees, begging pardon for his great fault against God, and a most bountiful Prince; the next day the Deputy took him along with him to Dublin, intending to send him to England, but before he could come thither the Queen died.

In King James his Reign Tyrone and all his adherents absolutely submitted to his Majesties pleasure; who by an Act of Oblivion, published by Proclamation

tion under the Great Seal, did forgive and utterly extinguish all offences against the Crown, and all particular Trespasses between Subject and Subject, to all who would come into the Justice of Assize by such a day, and claim the benefit thereof, by which all the Irishry who in former times were generally left under the Tyranny of their Lords & Cheiftains and had no defence nor justice from the Crown, were now received into his Majesties immediate protection; The publick peace being thus established, publick Justice was next settled by dividing all Ireland into shires, and erecting Circuits in every Province, and governing all things therein according to the Laws of England, and lastly the Estates and possessions of the English, as well as Irish, were settled throughout the Kingdom, to the great comfort and security of all men, and thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace for above forty years that ever was seen in Ireland.

Yet the foundation thereof was not so strongly laid, but it received a shake by the first Storm that threatened England: For being ingaged in a War with France and Spain about the beginning of the Reign of King Charles the I. 1627. there was occasion for sending some additional Forces into Ireland for the security thereof, upon which a Proposition was made to the chief of the Irish Nation by the Lord Deputy Falkland, for contributing a competent sum of money toward the maintenance of those Forces to be established by the way of a Standing Army, to which they would not condescend without a Toleration of Religion first obtained, though Arch-bishop Usher, then Lord Primate of all Ireland, in a great Assembly of Irish and English at Dublin, used many cogent Arguments to periuade them to it, and among others, That their being Romanists would

would not exempt them the more from the danger of a Common Enemy, as they might conjecture from the answer which the Duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this case in 1588. That his Sword knew no difference between a Catholick and an Heretick, but that he came to make way for his Master. Divers other notable instances he gave whereby he prophetically intimated what afterward fell upon Ireland in 1641. when above one hundred and fifty thousand Brittish Planters were most inhumanely massacred by the outragious Irish, without the least provocation given to perpetrate such wicked and unparalleled acts of Barbarism.

But before I proceed to give an account of that dismal Tragedy ; I will make some brief deduction of some former Transactions in this Kingdom, and discover the beginnings and progress of the General Rebellion in 1641.

Ireland for near five hundred years has continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of England, and presently after its first Conquest was planted with English Colonies, long since worn out or generally become Irish, and therefore hath in this last age been supplied with great numbers of People from England and Scotland to settle there. The Irish, as we have related, want not many Fabulous inventions to magnifie the Original of their Nation, but whether the Scythians, Gauls, Africans, Goths or some other Eastern Nations that antiently inhabited Spain, came and sate down there is very uncertain, yet their Manners, Customs, words, names, and still retained Ceremonies seem very much to demonstrate their first rise from some of those People ; For it may be conjectured that as the Eastern Parts of Ireland bordering upon England were first planted by the old Britains, several of their words being still in use ; and as the Northern Parts were

first

first inhabited by the Scythians, from whom it was called Scyteland or Scotland; so the South and more Western Ports thereof were peopled by the Maritime Parts of Spain, being the next Continent, not by the present Spanish Nation, who are now a different mixture of People, but it is probable by the Gauls, who anciently inhabited all the sea-coasts of Spain.

The whole Kingdom of Ireland was divided into five principal Cheiftains, or Commanders, that is, Macmorrough of Leinster, Mac-cartye of Munster, O Neal of Ulster, O Connor of Connaught, and O Malaghlin of Meath, who were called Kings, but as they had neither Hereditary Right nor Lawful Election, so they were neither Anointed nor Crowned, but made their way by the sword, and were invested with certain Barbarous Ceremonies, and ruled with all manner of Tyranny, the People being absolute slaves to all the savage Customs practised under their Dominion, which continued till the reign of Henry II. King of England, in whose time the undertaking for the Conquest of Ireland, was very successful, being made by most Powerful, thongh private Adventurers upon this occasion.

Dormet Mac-Morrough King of Leinster, being forced to fly his Countrey by the Kings of Connaught and Meath, repaired to King Henry, then personally attending his Wars in France, and earnestly implored his Aid, for recovering his Territories, most Injuriouslly, as he pretended, taken from him. The King refused to imbark in the quarrel, yet graciously Recommended the Justice of his Cause, to all his Loving Subjects, and assured them, that who-ever would Assist Dermot, should have free Liberty to Transport their Forces, and be held to do very acceptable Service therein; Whereupon Strangebow Earl of Pembroke, resolved as a private Adventurer,

venturer, to Aid him with his utmost Power, and Dermot coming to him at Bristol, an agreement was made, that Strangebow should marry Dermots only Daughter Eva, and after his Death, should enjoy the Kingdom of Leinster, of which she was Heiress; after which, Strangebow ingaging some other private Gentlemen in the Design, they got together a party of 490 Men, which they Transported in three Ships to Wexford in Ireland, and there joyning with some of Dermots Forces, they not only Reduced that Town, but soon after possest themselves of all the Maritime Parts of Leinster.

King Henry upon the News of the prosperous reducement of so large a Territory, by such inconsiderable Forces, desirous to share with his Subjects, both in the profit and glory of so great an Action, Resolved to make an Expedition thither in Person; when he Arrived there, the Presence of so great a Prince, had such a strange Influence on the Minds of the rude Savage Natives, that partly by the Power of his Arms, and partly by his Grace and Favour, in receiving them upon their feigned Submissions, he soon Subdued this Barbarous Divided People. This happened in 1172. the King found the Land good and flourishing, with plenty of all kind of Provisions, the Soil Rich and Fertile, the Air Sweet and Temperate, the Heavens safe and commodious, several Towns and Villages scattered up and down in several parts of the Countrey, but the Buildings so Mean and Contemptible, that when the King Arrived at Dublin, their Chief City, he found no place for Entertainment; but was obliged to set up a long House made of Smoothened Wattles, after the manner of that Country, and therein kept his Christmas; all their Forts, Castles, Stately Buildings, and other Edifices, were afterwards Erected  
by

by the English, except some of their Maritime Towns, which were Built by the Easterlings, which formerly Inhabited there; He found likewise, several Monuments of Piety, and other Remarkable Testimonies, that the Christian Religion had been planted there about 400 years after Christ, by some Holy and Learned Men from Foreign Parts, as Sediumius, Paladius, and Patricius, the Famous Irish Saint born at Kirk Patrick near Glasgou in Scotland, who came hither out of a Pious Desire, to propagate the Gospel, and for the Conversion of a Barbarous People, instructing them in the Principles of the Christian Faith; and St. Patricius with his unwearied endeavours, had such great Success, that some Authors write, the Church of Armagh was by him Erected into an Episcopal See, 350 Bishops Consecrated, great Numbers of Clergymen Instituted, who (notwithstanding the Notorious Ignorance and Debauchery of the Common People) being most Monks by Profession, and of strict and severe Lives, were so admired by other Nations in those rude Times, that in Respect to them, Ireland was Termed the Isle of Saints: But so quickly did Piety Decay, that this Name was lost, Yea, the very Prints and Characters of Devotion Obliterated, even among the Clergy themselves, and so filthy and depraved were the manners of the Common People, that when King Henry the II. designed to go thither, he obtained a Bull of Pope Adrian, to go over and Conquer Ireland, and Reduce the Beastly Inhabitants into the way of Truth, and the King at his Arrival, found them so indeed, being generally void of all manner of Civility, Governed by no Setled Laws, living like Beasts, Biting and Devouring one another, without all Rules, Customs, or Reasonable Constitutions, either for Regulation of Property, or against open Force.

Force and Violence, most Notorious Murthers, Rapes, Robberies, and other Acts of Inhumanity and Barbarism, Raging without Controul or Punishment; whereupon he without any manner of Scruple, or further Inquisition into particular Titles, resolving it seems to make good by the Sword, the Popes Donation, made a General Seizure of all the Lands of the whole Kingdom, and without further Ceremony, took them into his own hands; And the more speedily to introduce Religion and Civility, and Accomplish the Work so gloriously begun, the King called a great Council at Lissimore, where he caused the Laws of England to be received, and Settled in Ireland, which he United to the Imperial Crown of England, and Distributed the whole Land among his English Officers and Souldiers.

A Learned Author in his Observations upon the Causes of the sudden Reducing of Ireland, gives this as one Reason thereof; That a Synod or Council of the Clergy, being Assembled at Armagh, and that point fully Debated, it was unanimously agreed; 'That the Sins of the People, and particularly their buying of Englishmen from Pyrates, and Detaining them under most miserable Bondage, was one great occasion of the Heavy Judgment fallen upon the Nation, and that Heaven by way of just Retaliation, had now suffered them to be Reduced by the English, to the same Slavery; Whereupon they Ordered all the English in Captivity throughout the Land, to be Released; If so heavy a Judgment fell upon them for the hard usage of some few English, what Expiation can they now pretend to make, for the Effusion of so much Innocent Blood in 1641. when in two years time, above three Hundred Thousand Protestants were cruelly Murthered in Cold Blood;

King John came into Ireland in his Minority to little

little purpose, but upon a second general Defection in the 12 year of his Reign, he made a second Expedition thither, and Built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain to this Day; he Erected Courts of Judicature, and settled the English Colonies, and Civil Government; King Richard II. upon the same occasion made two Voyages thither in Person; but both these Princes to save English Blood and Treasure, and having likewise Troubles at Home, were both content to suffer themselves to be abused by the feigned Submissions of the Irish, who finding their present inability to resist such great Forces, came from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, to submit to their Mercy, and yet some have observed, that they left not one True Subject more behind them, than they found at their first Arrival. However, by the Presence of these Princes, and the Care of the Governors set over them, the first Adventurers, and others of the English Nation, drove the Irish out of all the Habitable parts of the Country, especially those on the Sea Coasts, and afterwards grew so Potent, that they Entertained private Animosities against each other, yea, their Dissentions were so great, that at length they drew in the Irish, whom they had driven up into the Mountains, and ever esteemed their most deadly Enemies, to take part in their Quarels, shamelessly using their Assistance, for the Inlargement of their own private Territories, against their own Companions and Joyn't Tenants in that good Land; the Irish glad of the Occasion, Fomented these Broils among the English, whom they mortally hated, to the utmost, and notwithstanding the great Priviledges they enjoyed by their Protection, always shewed the utmost Averson to them, and their Laws; Insomuch that besides the five Irish Kings and their Families afore-

aforementioned, the rest of that Nation were always reckoned Aliens, and absolute Enemies, so that from Hen. II. to Hen. VIII. none were admitted to be Subjects, or received any benefit by the English Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization; and it was no Capital Offence to kill any of them, since the Laws did neither protect their Lives, nor Revenge their Deaths, so that living in the Bogs and Woods on the Mountains, they upon all occasions, declared their Malice and Hatred against the English Colonies, planted near them.

However the English were still Owners and Possessors of the Kingdom, and kept themselves almost Entire, for the first Hundred years after their Arrival, not suffering the Irish to live promiscuously among them, but by an High Hand, Kept them in due Obedience and Subjection to the Crown of England, and when they afterwards grew more careless, and intermingled among them, whereby the English learnt their beastly Manners and Customs, there were very severe Laws made against them, so that in the Reign of King Edward III. It was declared High Treason to Marry with the Irish, or to let them Nurse their Children, and to use the Irish Language, Names or Apparel was made a Premunire, that is, to lose their Estates, and be perpetually imprisoned; And though in after Ages, the English endeavoured to Civilize the People, and introduce the English Laws, Language, Habit and Customs among them, thereby to reduce them to Civility, yet such was their Rough, Rebellious Disposition, and their im- placable Malice to the English, that nothing could Attempt, or Reduce them to any Tolerable patience, or perswade them to live peaceably among them; So that in all times, as well when they were admitted into the Condition of Subjects, as while,

they

they were Esteemed and Treated as Enemies, they took all Advantages, most perfidiously to rise up and imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their English Neighbours, and Ireland hath long continued a true Aceldama, or Field of Blood, and a dismal Sepulchre for the English Nation ; for after their intermixing with the Irish, they Barbarously Degenerated into their Manners and Customs, insomuch, that by their intestine Broils, and the Mischievous Attempts of the Irish upon them, the English from their first Access to Ireland, till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, being above 380 years, had no settled Peace nor Comfortable Subsistence amongst them, but were in such perpetual Troubles, and so over-worn with misery, that they could scarce Survive the Universal Calamity that over-spread the face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that excellent Queen in the beginning of her Reign, out of her Pious Intentions and Affections to her People, took care to Redress these Disorders, and sending over Prudent and Religious Governors, made a great Reformation by many good Laws Enacted against the Barbarous Customs of the Irish, and for the Execution of Justice throughout the Countrey, which were reduced into Shires and Sheriffs, and others Ministers of Justice placed in them, and the High Powers, Usurpations and Extortions of the Irish were Restrained, and several Destructive Customs Repress'd ; The two Presidential Courts of Munster and Connaught, were then Instituted, and special Order taken for Free Schools to be Erected for Educating Youth throughout the Kingdom ; But these and other Courses for the Advancement of True Religion and Civility, were Highly Disagreeable to the loose Humours of the Natives, who pretended the English Government was Insupportable, and began

gan Desperately to struggle for their Liberty, several Plots were laid, some by those who were of the Old English by Extraction, and divers Rebellions and petty Revolts happened during that Queens Reign, which she timely Supprest, either by Force and Favour, often Renewing her kindness to them, upon their continued provocations, Restoring some Rebellious Lords to their Forfeited Estates and Commands, and Bestowing New Titles of Honour upon others ; But all was in vain, the Malignant impressions of Irreligion and Barbarism, Transmitted from their Ancestors, either by Infusion or Natural Generation, had so irrefragably Stiffened their Necks, and hardened their Hearts, that they still retained all their wicked Customs and Inclinations, without change in their Affections or Manners, having their Eyes inflamed, and their minds enraged with Rancor and Revenge against the English Nation, breathing forth nothing but their Ruine, Destruction, and utter Extirpation, and resolving at once to Disburthen the whole Kingdom, and their Posterity of them, and deliver themselves from their Subjection to the Crown of England, a desperate Rebellion was raised by the Earl of Tyrone, who had received Titles of Honour from the Queen, a Command of Horse and Foot, great proportions of Land, and other Favours, which he now ingratefully Cancell'd in engaging most of the Irish, and some English Degenerate Families in his Treacherous Designs, and likewise calling in some Foreign Forces to his Assistance. The Queen perceiving that no Obligations would secure the Irish Loyalty, Resolved to Reduce them by Force, which was done in a short time, and Tyrone brought upon his Knees, though not without the Expence of much English Blood, above a Million of Money, the Country miserably wasted, and a general Desolation and Famine over-Spreading the Land.

King

King James at his first coming to the Crown, conceiving that the powerful Conjunction of England and Scotland, would overcome the Irish, and contain them in their due Obedience, resolved not to take any Advantage of these Forfeitures and great Confiscations, which he was most justly Intituled to by Tyrone's Rebellion, but restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own Lands; After which, for six years, the Countrey was indifferent quiet, when Tyrone made a second Insurrection, and drew in the whole Province of Ulster, who were absolutely at his Devotion, to joyn with him; but his Plot failed him, for not finding himself in a Capacity to Resist the English Forces, he fled into Spain, promising speedily to return with Foreign Succors, but by the care of the Government, this Designed Rebellion was quell'd in the beginning, and Tyrone never came back; After which, King James being justly provoked by the High Ingratitude of these Traytors, caused their Persons to be Attainted, and their Lands to be Seized, and Distributed them among British Undertakers, many of whom came over and Setled in the Province of Ulster with their Families, and Built several good Towns and Castles, in divers parts of the Country, whereby much Civility was introduced, and the whole Kingdom began to Flourish in Costly Buildings, and all manner of Improvements, and the very Irish seemed to be much satisfied with the Peace and Tranquillity they enjoyed.

King Charles the I. was no less Indulgent to them, for in 1640. upon the Complaint and Rémonstrance sent him from both Houses of Parliament, then Sitting at Dublin, Representing the Heavy Pressures they had suffered under the Government of the E. of Strafford, he made present Provision for their Redress, Constituting Sir - William Parsons and

and Sir John Burlace, Lord's Justices of that Kingdom, who declared against the late proceedings, as varying from the Common Law, and abated the Subsidy that was given in the Earl of Strafford's time, from 40000 to 12000 l. and soon after Robert Sydney Earl of Leicester was made Lord Lieutenant; The Roman Catholicks likewise privately enjoyed the free Exercise of their Religion, and by the over-great indulgence of the late Governors, had their Titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors and Nuns, who without Controul, exercised a voluntary Jurisdiction over them; they had also their Priests, Jesuits and Fryers, who came in great Numbers from Foreign Parts, and without restraint, settled themselves in all the Chief Towns, Villages, Noble-Men and Gentlemen's Houses, and none of the Laws were put in Execution against them, and the Ancient Animosities between the two Nations seemed to be Buryed, so that they lived together in Peace for 40 Years, Marriages, and all other indearments of Friendship, passing between them, and the Irish Lords and Gentlemen, found such Advantage by the English Commerce and Cohabitation in the great Improvement of their Lands, and Native Commodities beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, that Phelini O'Neal, and many other principal Leaders in the succeeding Rebellion, had not long before turned their Irish Tennants out of their Lands, and exposed them to starve upon the Mountains, and took the English for their Tenants, who gave them greater Rents, and payed them more certainly; These and many other Symptoms of a Flourishing Kingdom seemed to declare, That the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, was fully Setled, and humanly probable so to continue, and the Irish Army Raised for the Invasion of Scotland, was peaceably Disbanded, and no Noise of War remained in the Coasts.

In this great Calm, the English continued in a most deep Security, when on a sudden, the Irish Papists raised a Rebellion so execrable in its self, so odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, Kingdom nor People can parallel the Horrid Cruelties, and Abominable Murthers, that were without Number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the Brittish Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex, Age, or Condition soever, which was long before presaged by some discerning Persons, particularly by the excellent, Learned and Religious Archibishop, Usher of Armagh, who amongst many other extraordinary Gifts and Graces, wherewith he was endowed, had a wonderful Spirit of Prophecy, from which among many other things, he foretold this Bloody Rebellion 40 years before it came to pass, in a Sermon preached at Dublin, in 1601. where from Ezekiel 4. 6. Discoursing concerning the Prophets bearing the iniquity of Judah 40 Days, the Lord therein appointing a Day for a year, he made this direct Application, in Relation to the Connivance at Popery at that time; 'From this year,' says he, will I reckon the *Six* of Ireland, that those whom you now imbrace, shall be your Ruine, and you shall bear your Iniquity; Which Prediction proved exactly true, for from that time, 1601. to 1641. was just 40 years. It is observed, that the Irish have naturally a dull and deep Reservedness, which makes them carry on their Business with much Silence and Secrecy, but yet it is Admirable, to consider how this mischievous Plot which was generally to be acted by several Persons, in divers places at the same time, should without Noise, be brought to the very point of Execution, without any Notice or Intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of Persons, who were designed to be Sacrificed in it, there not being any certain Discovery made of it, till Oct. 22. which happened in the manner following.

Owen

Owen O Covally, a Gentleman of a meer Irish Family; but had long lived among the English, being a Servant to Sir John Clothwarty, and Train'd up in the Protestant Religion, came to the Lord Justice Partons, about nine a Clock that Evening, and gave an account of a Wicked and Damnable Plot, contrived by the Irish Papists, for Seising the Castle of Dublin, the very next Day; with all the Arms and Ammunition therein: And ~~at~~ the same Hour, all other Forts and Magazines of Arms in the Kingdom; and that all the Protestants and English, who would not joyn with them, should be cut off; and thereby, the Papists would be possiest of the Government and Kingdom at the same instant; upon this Discovery, the Lords Justices and Councils, caused Recruits to be put into the Castle, and the City to be Guarded, and then endeavoured to seise the Traytors, many of whom came into the City that Night, and Hugh Mac Mahon Esquire, Grandson to the Rebel Tyrone, and the Lord Mac Guire: Two of the principal Conspirators, were made Prisoners; but several others of the chief, escaped that Night: So that only 30 of the most inconsiderable were taken, the great ones having too many Friends in the City, who furthered their escape. Mac Malion being Examined before the Council, without much Difficulty, confess't the Plot, Resolutely telling them; 'That on that very Day, Oct. 23. 1641. All the Forts and strong Places in Ireland, would be taken; That he with the Lord Mac Guire, Hugh Barn, Captain Brian O Neal, and several other Irish Gentlemen, were come up expressly to Surprise the Castle of Dublin, that 20 Men out of each County, were to be there to joyn with them: That all the Popish Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom, were ingaged in this Plot; that what was that Day to be done in other Parts

'of the Country, was so far Advanced by that time,  
'as it was impossible for the Wit of Man to prevent  
'it; and added, that it was true, they had him now  
'in their power, and might use him how they pleaf-  
'ed; but he was sure he should be Revenged.

The next Day News Arrived, that the Irish were Risen in the Province of Ulster, Plundering, Burning and Massacring the poor English, and the Rebellion appeared to be general, over all the Northern part of the Kingdom; and every Hour, people Arrived at Dublin, like Jobs Messengers, telling the Story of their own Sufferings, and the fearful Murthers of the Protestants, in all parts from whence they came. The Rebels grew stronger every Day, and by the latter end of October, had got possession of all the Towns, Forts, Castles, and Gentlemens Houses, in seven whole Counties, and half the County of Doun, except London-Derry, Colrain, and the Town and Castle of Inniskilling; this impetuous Torrent of Success, seemed to proceed from the great Security and Confidence the English had in the Irish, with whom they lived peaceably and quietly, and to whom they had not given the least provocation: So that in the Northern Countries, they were suddenly swallowed up, and overrun, before they could make any manner of Resistance; For most of the English, having either Irish Tenants, Servants, Landlords, or Familiar Neighbours: So soon as the Country began to rise about them, many fled to them for preservation, and with great Confidence, put their Lives, Wives, Children, and all they had into their Power; but these generally, either betrayed them into the Hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously Murthered them with their own Hands.

The Priests had now influenced the Irish with bloody Maxims; and the Day before the horrid Massacre

Massacre began, they gave the People a Dismission at Mass, with full liberty, to go out and take possession of all their Lands ; which they pretended were unjustly detairied from them, by the English, assuring them : ' That it was a Mortal Sin, to give any manner of Relief or Protection to the Protestants ; ' and that they ought to spare neither, Man, Woman, nor Child : That they might lawfully Strip, Rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattels ; ' That the Protestants were worse than Dogs ; for they were Devils, and Worshipped the Devil, and that the killing of such, was an excellent preservative against the pains of Purgatory, since the Bodies of such Catholicks, as should dye in this quarrel, would not be cold, before their Souls should ascend up to Heaven, without touching Purgatory ; which cursed Doctrine, caused some of these Murthering Villains to boast : That if they should dye presently, they were certain of going straight to Heaven.

Having thus received the Watch-word from their Priests, both as to time and place, they rose up, actuated, as it were by the same Spirit in several places, at one and the same time, Murdering and Stripping some, and expelling others out of their Habitations ; All Bonds of Faith and Friendship were now broken, the Irish Land-Lords made a Prey of their English Tennants ; Irish Tenants and Servants made a Sacrifice of their English Landlords and Masters ; one Neighbour, was cruelly Murthered by another : Yea, the very Irish Children stript and kill'd the English Children, and it was esteemed a Meritorious work in any of them, that could by any means and ways whatsoever, bring an English Man to Slaughter. The English in the mean time, tho' in some Churches and Castles, they made a very gallant Defence with small Parties ; yet did not

draw together in any considerable Body, so as to withstand the Numerous Forces of the Rebels : So that generally every Man striving the best he could to secure his own Family, Goods and Cattel gave their Enemies opportunity to destroy them all ; which they acted with great delight, to satiate their Ancient implacable Malice, declaring ; ' That it did them a great deal of good, to wash their Hands in the Protestants Blood ; and so it appeared by the Examination of several English Persons upon Oath, who gave the following account of some of their most Notorious Cruelties, and Barbarous Murthers.

That in the County of Fermanah, multitudes were killed in cold Blood, some at Plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own Houses, or Travelling on the way, without any manner of Provocation ; at Lisgol Castle, above 150 Men, Women and Children, were Burnt or Smothered, the Rebels having set it on Fire : In the Castle of Moneah, 90 Protestants were Murdered ; and in the Castle of Tullah ; which was delivered upon promise of fair Quarters, they first stript, and then Murdered them all without Mercy ; At Lissenskeah they hanged, and kill'd above 100 Scots : This County was very well Planted by the Brittish Undertakers ; but all of them and their Tenants in a very short space, were in a most horrible manner destroyed, or Banished from their Habitations. They compelled one Middleton to hear Mass ; and to Swear never to alter from it, and immediately after, caused him, his Wife and Children, to be hanged up, and 100 Persons more in that Town : There were a Thousand Men, Women and Children carryed out at several times, and unmercifully drowned at Portmedoum Bridge, which was broken in the midst, and 4000 more in several Parts of that Country,

the

the Rebels thrusting them into the River, with their Swords and Pikes ; and if any endeavoured to Swim, they knockt them on the Head, or Shot them : Among others, one Mrs. Campbell, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and finding no means to escape their fury, suddenly claspt her Arms about one of the chief Rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the Water, and carryed him to the bottom with her, and so they were both drowned together. They burnt the Cathedral of Armagh, and Murdered 500 Persons there, and 48 Families were Murdered by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, who had Remained, Protected by him 3 quarters of a year before ; John Cander being told by a Rebel, that he would not kill him, till he had said his Prayers, the poor Man was no sooner on his knees ; but he instantly cut off his Head. Some of the Villains, when the Protestants desired to make their Prayers before their Death : told them that they 'should bequeath their Souls to the Devil, and that 'they need not pray, for their Souls were with the 'Devil already ; and with these words in their 'Mouth, would slaughter, and put them to Death. Others they buryed alive, and some were twice or thrice hanged up, and others wounded, and left half Dead, crying out Lamentably ; for some to come and Dispatch them out of their Miseries, by killing them : At Clownis in the County of Fermanagh, 17 Persons being hanged till they were half Dead, were cast together into a Pit, and covered with a little Earth, sending forth most Lamentable Groans, for a great while after ; and among them, four or five young Children, the youngest of whom not fully Dead, put forth the Hand, crying, Mammy, Mammy, to the Murdered Mother ; but was without Mercy, Buryed alive by these Miscreants : Some they grievously Wounded, and then hung them

them up upon Tenter-Hooks, Others were drawn with Ropes about their Necks, through Woods and Boggs, and hanged up, and taken down again several times, to make them confess their Money; these inhuman Monsters, exercised horrid Cruelty on the Female Sex, whom they neither pittyed nor spared, hanging up several Women great with Child ; and then ripped up their Bellies, letting the little Infants fall out , and using such Barbarous, Beastly Actions towards them, as are unfit to be related: At Kinard, the Rebels sent abroad their Children in Troops , Armed with long Wattels and Whips, wherewith to beat the Marthered Bodies of Men about the Nudities , untill they beat , or rather thresh them off; and for this Villainous Service, were received with great joy by their Parents, and if any Woman were found Dead, lying with her face downward, they would turn them on their Backs, and in great numbers, the Irish would resort to look on them, censuring and abusing them, with all manner of Filthiness : In Sligo , 30 Protestants, Men and Women, were Murdered in the Jayl, after which, the Villains placed some of the Dead Bodies of the Men,naked upon the Bodies of the Women; in which posture, they continued to be seen by the Irish of the Town next Morning, who much delighted and rejoiced in these inhuman Actions; and they that came to bury the Prisoners, stood up to the mid Leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so Murdered ; after which, the River of Sligo which used to abound in Fish, afforded none at all for a long time, though the Fryars in their white Habits, went in Solemn Processeion, and threw Holy Water therein.

It would be almost endless, to give a particular account, of all the Detestable Cruelties and Murders acted by these incarnate Devils, upon the Innocent

cent English, of whom they destroyed, near three Hundred Thousand in a few Months; being chiefly Animated thereto, by their Villainous Priests, upon the account of their Religion; and therefore, they often declared their Despight to the Bible, as being directly contrary to their Cursed Principles and Practices: In one place they burnt two English Bibles, saying, *It was Hell Fire they burnt*. They laid another in a puddle of Water, and then stamping on it, said, a *Plague on it*, This Bible hath bred all the quarrel: A Rebel perswaded a Man and his Wife, to joyn with them in the Massacre, who protest-  
ed, that rather than they would forsake their Reli-  
gion, they would dye upon the Sword's point; He  
would then have had the Woman burn her Bible;  
but she refused, saying, she would rather dye, than  
do it: Whereupon they were both cruelly Murther-  
ed: they Murthered Mr. Bingham, a Famous Minis-  
ter, and cutting off his Head, put a Gag in his  
Mouth, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him,  
bid him Preach, saying, his Mouth was open, and  
wide enough.

During these horrid Barbarities, there were se-  
veral Indications of Divine Displeasure, apparent  
in divers places, the truth of which was sworn to,  
and affirmed by Witnesses of Credit and Reputati-  
on; As in the Province of Munster, near the Silver  
Works; where while the Rebels were Massacring a  
great number of Protestant Men, Women, and  
Children, on the Lords Day Afternoon, a most  
Loud and Dreadful Noise and Storm of Thunder,  
Lightning, Wind, Hailstones and Rain happened,  
though it was fair all the Day before; which much  
affrighted the Murtherers themselves, who confess  
it to be a sign of Gods Anger against them, for their  
Bloody Cruelty; At Portnedown Bridge, where  
so many thousand Protestants were drowned, the

remaining Inhabitants, were so Terrified with the noise of Spirits and Visions for Revenge, that they durst not continue thereabout ; and some of the Rebels themselves said to others ; that the Blood of some of those that were knockt on the Head, and afterward drowned in this River, remained on the Bridge, and could not be washt away : There appeared sometimes Men, sometimes Women, Breast high in the River, with Hands lifted up, crying out with fearful Schreicks and Voices, Revenge, Revenge, Revenge ; and it was not long, ere Divine Justice overtook them : Many thousands of the most Notorious Murtherers, who perished by the Sword and Plague, that followed it ; so that it was computed, that in a few years, scarce any of these Miscreants remained alive ; but were sent to their own place to give an account of their Tremendous Brutalities.

The King having made a Truce with the Scots, who were entred with an Army into England, to demand the Redress of their Grievances, and the Forces on both sides being Disbanded ; he made a Journey into Scotland, in the beginning of August, 1641. and continued there, till the latter end of October, when this Horrid Rebellion happened. Owen O Covally, the first Discoverer of the Plot, brought the first Letters to London, and received as a Reward, 500 l. in Money, and an Annuity of 200 l. a year ; and presently, the Parliament provided for the Relief of Ireland ; and the Lords of the Council, and the Lords Justices there, had with the Arms that were in Dublin Armed many well-affected Gentlemen, and several Active Commanders were sent out of the City, to defend the adjoyning Places from the Approach of the Rebels ; at which time, the Parliament sent over Twenty Thousand Pounds, for a present

present supply ; but could not relieve them with any Forces, till December following, when Sir Simon Harcourt Arrived with Seasonable Supplies of men and money, and Raised the Seige of Drogheda ; which had been much straitned by Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Rebels ; and the English recovered Dundalk, Neury, and several other Towns and Castles out of their Hands ;

But though the Rebellion brake out in October 23. Yet the King, who was now returned from Scotland, did not proclaim them Rebels, till Jan. 1. following, and then gave strict Command, that only 40 Proclamations should be printed, and that none of them should be Published, without the Kings Express Order ; which the Parliament among other things, afterwards Taxed him with ; Who Replyed thereto : That he was unwilling to make the Irish Desperate, and utterly undoe his Protestant Subjects , who were then too weak to withstand so Potent a Rebellion ; and that the Lords Justices of Ireland, required only 20, as many of themselves well knew : Yet this proceeding unhappily increased the Jealousies that began to arise between the King and his English Parliament ; because it was publickly discourit, that it had not been done at all ; but that some Worthy Protestant Lords, had earnestly advised him to proclaim them speedily, that a better course might be taken against them, and to wash off that foul Stain from himself, by prosecuting severely, those wicked Villains, who reported every where : 'That they had Authority from the King, to Seize upon the Holds of the English Protestants ; that they were the Queens Soldiers, and rise to maintain the Kings Prerogative, against the Puritan Parliament of England : 'That they told the poor Protestants, it was for no purpose to fly for safety into England ; for that

' Kingdom would be as much distract as theirs ; and  
' that the King intended to forsake his Parliament in  
' England, and make War against them, and that  
' then they would come over ( having done their  
' their Work in Ireland ) and help the King  
' against his English Parliament. The Lords there-  
fore advised him by all means, to purge himself of  
these Accusations, than which there could not be  
greater on Earth.

Soon after the Earl of Leicester was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Strafford being Beheaded some time before at Tower Hill ; But the Relief of that Bleeding Kingdom, was much ob-  
structed by the wide Breaches which daily happened between the King and the Parliament, particularly upon his going, Jan. 4. Attended with 300 Armed Gentlemen, into the H. of Commons, and Demanding 5 Members to be delivered him, which the Parliament declared to be, ' An High Breach of  
' their Priviledges, a great Scandal to the King and  
' his Government , a Seditious Act, manifestly  
' tending to the Subversion of the Peace, and an  
' Injury and Dishonour to the said Members, there  
' being no Legal charge, or accusation against them ;  
' and that there could be no Vindication of those  
' Priviledges, unless his Majesty would discover the  
' Names of those who advised him to such unlawful  
' Courses : After this, the Parliament confidered of  
a Bill, for Pressing Souldiers to be sent out of Scot-  
land, to Ireland, as being near ; but the King ex-  
cepted against it, while it lay in the House of Lords,  
as a Diminution to his Prerogative ; Whereupon  
the Parliament in their Petition to him Asserted ;  
' That the King by taking notice of a Bill; while in  
' Debate in the House of Lords, had broken the  
' Fundamental Priviledge of Parliament ; which  
' he ought not to do, concerning any Bill, till it be

pre-

'presented to him in due course of Parliament; and  
'desired Reparation. They then desired, that an  
Army of Scots should be sent thither; and that  
they should have the keeping of the Town and Ca-  
stle, of Carick-fergus; but the King said, that he  
doubted this might be to the Damage of England;  
The Scots Commissioners replied: 'That they were  
'sorry, his Majesty being their Native King, should  
'repose less Trust in them, than their Neighbour-  
'ing Nation had freely done: So that at length, this  
was granted.'

It was thought to be the most Feasible way for Re-  
ducing Ireland, that proportions of Land there should  
be shared among English Adventurers, proportional  
to those Sums of Money they should Subscribe;  
that so, whosoever in Person, or Purse, should  
assist in Conquering the Bloody Rebels, might be  
Recompensed, if the Work were done; and Pro-  
positions were framed in Parliament to that pur-  
pose; which the King confirmed: Though at first  
he laught at them, and was heard to say: 'That  
'they were like to him, who Sold the Bears Skin,  
'before the Bear was killed: At length an Act was  
'passed for impowring the Parliament to carry on  
'that War, till Ireland should be declared wholly  
'Subdued, and that no Peace nor Cessation of Arms  
'should ever be made with the Rebels, without  
'consent of both Houes of Parliament. The King  
then offered to go in Person thither; but the Par-  
liament thought it not fit to hazard his Person in  
such an Expedition.

The Queen about February, went to Holland,  
carrying with her, most of the Crown Jewels,  
which she had pledged for Money and Arms for the  
King her Husband; and for which, she was after-  
wards voted a Traytor by the Parliament; the King  
having taken leave of her at Dover, went with the  
Prince

Prince and Duke of York to Theobalds, and from thence to Newmarket; where both Houses Presented him a Declaration, sent by two Lords, in which they Repeat the old Grievances, the War of Scotland, the Rebellion in Ireland, his entring the House of Commons, his causles fear of Residing near London to the perplexing of the Kingdom, the hindring the Relief of Ireland; and encouraging the ill affected Party in the Kingdom: To which the King answered, with great Indignation, extenuating some things, and excusing others, accusing them for raising needless Fears and Jealousies: After which, the King passed farther North to York: upon which, the Parliament voted, ' That the Kings Absence so far Remote from his Parliament, is not only an Obstruction; but may be a Destruction to the Affairs of Ireland: ' That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is an High Breach of the Privilegde of Parliament. That they which advise the K. to absent himself from his Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdom; and justly to be suspected as Favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.

From York, the King sent a Message to the Parliament, April 8. 1642. That he would go in Person over to Ireland, against those Bloody Rebels, and intended to raise a Guard for his Person in Cheshire, to carry thither, of 2000 Foot, and 100 Horse; whom he would Arm from his Magazine of Hull: But the Parliament having Intimation, that the K. designed to Seise that Magazine, to Arm himself against them, sent Sir John Hotham thither, who refused to admit him Entrance; upon which the K. Proclaimed him Traytor, and complained to the Parliament of the Affront, who endeavoured to appease

appease him; but justified Hothams Act, and declared, that the P roclaiming him Traytor, without proeis of Law, was against the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land;

The King daily Summoned the Gentry of the Northern Counties to attend him, all York as a Guard for his Person, which he declared, was in danger from the Parliament, who thereupon declared, ‘ That it appears, that the King Seduced by wicked Counsel, intends to make a War against the Parliament, who in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other end to themselves but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person: That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust Reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government; That whosoever shall Serve and Assist him in such Wars, are Traytors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 11 Rich. II. and 1 Henry IV. and that such Persons ought to suffer as Traytors; the King Justified himself in his Declarations and Proclamations, against the Parliament, which daily encountered each other: So that all things tended to an absolute Rupture, and presaged the Calamities of the Civil War, which soon after followed; For both sides flying to Arms, and the Nation being divided into Parties, several bloody Battels were fought, and the whole Kingdom was in a Flame.

In 1643. The Parliament of England invited the Scots to come in to their Assistance, with an Army of 21000 Horse and Foot, ingaging to pay them an Hundred Thousand pound, towards the Charge of Raising them: On the other side, the King to withdraw the Protestant Army out of Ireland, for Aiding

ing him against the Scots, concluded a Cessation of Arms for a year, with those Rebels ; and 3000 of the English Army were Imbarqued from thence, to joyn with the King ; This Cessation was much complained of by the Parliament, since it was not only for the benefit of the Irish Rebels, who gave him 3000 L. for the Favour ; but also directly contrary to the Act, which the King hath lately Signed : That no Cessation should be made, without the consent of both Houses. Thus was Assistance brought to either side, and that English Army which for almost a year, had fought Valiantly and Victoriously against those Rebels, was now brought over to fight against the Parliament of England.

The War still continued with much Vigor, and great Slaughter was made throughout the Kingdom; yet in the midst thereof, some Glimmerings of Peace began to appear, for in 1644. Conditions were proposed, both by the King and Parliament, and a Treaty began at Uxbridge, between Commissioners from both Parties, during which, the care of the War was not neglected on either side, the King endeavouring to bring over some Forces from the Duke of Lorrain, and some Irish to his Assistance, and by his Letters to the Lord Lieutenant, to make a Peace with the Rebels, or at least, to continue the Cessation for a year ; and to promise and grant them the free Exercise of the Romish Religion, assuring them, that if by their Assistance, he could but finisht his War in England, he would Abrogate those Laws made against the Papists there : He gave thanks likewise to Muskeny Plumket, and others of that party, promising a Pardon for all that was past : But they were much troubled at the Treaty of Peace with the Parliament ; being sensible, that one necessary condition thereof, must be the Vigorous Prosecution of the War in Ireland.

The

The King to remove this fear, writ to the Lord Lieutenant, ' that he could not refuse to make a Peace with his Parliament, only upon the account of those Irish, it being a point not Popular : Yet from that consideration, the Lieutenant might raise an Advantage, to hasten a Peace with them, it letting them know their own Danger, by being Excluded from all Hope of Pardon from the Parliament ; For ( saith he ) if we agree upon all other conditions, it will not be convenient for me to disagree, only concerning those Irish : Therefore let them take what I offer, while time is, and hasten the Peace, and when once my Faith is passed, no Human force shall make me break it.

The Queen also being then in France, writing to her Husband, seemed to grieve much, that at Uxbridge, they were to Treat of Religion in the first place assuring him, ' That if any thing severe against the Catholicks, should be concluded, and yet a Peace not be made, the King could not hope for any Assistance from the Catholick Princes, or from the Irish, who must needs think, that after they had done their best, they should at last be forsaken ; And often intreats the King, that he would never forsake the Catholicks, who had faithfully served him in the Wars, &c. The Commissioners met at Uxbridge ; but nothing at all was concluded at that Treaty, so that the War must decide it ; in pursuance whereof, both Parties strengthen themselves with fresh Forces ; and the Kings Army was very formidable ; but not content with so great a power of English Souldiers, he seemed more earnest than before, to get over the Irish ; he had committed the Business to Ormond, to make an Absolute Peace ; but perceiving their Demands were too High, so that nothing was effected, he now implored the Earl of Clamorgan, Son to the Marquess

quest of Worcester, a zealous Papist ; and therefore more acceptable with the Rebels ; giving him full power to make a Peace ; and indulge to the Irish, whatever might seem needful ; and this was Transacted so secretly, that both the Lord Lieutenant Ormond, and the Lord Digby, Secretary of Ireland, were ignorant thereof, till it was afterward Discovered and made publick : But the King finding it difficult to make such a Peace, as would bring him certain Assistance otherwise, that he might throw all that Envy upon Glamorgan, impowered him, unknown to the rest ; For so the Rebels sweetned with large promises ( unknown to Ormond ) might the better admit of Conditions just in shew, and openly excusable ; and the King might draw from Ireland, such Souldiers as would more firmly adhere to his side, and whom he might trust, ( as being the greatest haters of the English Protestants, and dispairing of Pardon ) against the Parliament of England. He therefore gave Letters of Authority to Glamorgan , in these words.

' Charles by the Grace of God, King of England,  
' &c. Defender of the Faith ; to our Trusty and  
' well beloved Cosen, Edward Earl of Glamorgan,  
' Greeting ; Being confident of your Wisdom and  
' Fidelity : We do by these Letters, as if under our  
' Great Seal, grant unto you, full power and au-  
thority, to Treat with the Confederate Roman  
' Catholicks in Ireland, and to indulge them, all  
' those things which necessity shall require, and  
' which we cannot so Comodiously do by our Lieu-  
' tenant, nor our self publickly own at present :  
' Therefore We Command, that you do this Busi-  
' ness with as much Secrecy as can be ; Whatsoever  
' you shall think fit to be promised in my Name,  
' that I do attest upon the word of a King and a  
' Christian, to grant to those Confederate Catho-  
licks

licks, who by their Assistance, have abundantly shewed their zeal to us, and our Cause ; Given at Oxford, under our Royal Seal, March 12. and 20 year of our Reign.

In pursuance of these Powers, the Earl of Glamorgan assured the King : He would Land 6000 Irish Papists in May following in Wales, and with the Transport Ships, block up Melford Haven, having a ready to advance the same, thirty thousand pound in Money, 10000 Musquets, 1000 Case of Pistols, 800 Barrels of Powder, besides his own Artillery, and a certainty of 30000 l. more. The K. likewise obliged the Earl of Antrim to joyn with the Marques of Montross, then in Arms in Scotland, who ingaged to send 10000 Irish thither from Ireland, where the passage was shortest to affit him ; but was very deficient therein, being scarce able to send 1200 thither.

In 1644. the Parliament ordered the Arraignment of the Lord Macguire, and Collonel Mahon, who were Seised at Dublin, the Night before the Discovery of the Rebellion there, and had been in the Town ever since : They were now brought to their Tryal at the Kings Bench Bar at Westminster, where Macguire insisted much upon his Peerage, but was over ruled ; and both found Guilty of High Treason, by a Jury of Middlesex Gentlemen, and executed at Tyburn. In 1646. the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make the Cessation with the Irish, a kind of a Peace ; which they condescended to, upon the following Propositions. 1. That the Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion, should be in Dublin and Drogheda, and in the Kingdom of Ireland, as free as in Paris and Brussels. 2. That the Privy Council of Ireland consist of Members True and Faithful to his Majestie, and who have been Enemies to the Parliament.

ment. 3. That Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Cathirly, Carlingford, and all Protestant Garrisons be Manned by the Confederate Catholicks, to keep the same for the use of the King, and Defence of the Kingdom. 4. That the said Council-lors, Generals, Commanders and Souldiers, do Swear and Ingage to fight against the Parliament of England, and all the Kings Enemies; and that they will never come to any Agreement with them, to the prejudice of His Majesties Rights, and the Kingdoms. 5. That both Parties according to their Oath of Association, shall to the best of their power and cunning, defend the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Kings Rights, and Liberties of the Subject.

This Peace was kept by some of the moderate Papists; but was ill Resented, both by the Parliament of England, and the Popes Nuncio, who influenced the most Serious Papists: To put a stop to which, the Parliament sent 2000 Men from Chester, under Colonel George Monk, with 3 Commissioners to the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin; who refused to Deliver the City to them, without the Kings Command: So that after having Treated the Commissioners, the English Forces were again Imbarqued, and Landed at Belfast in Ireland, whereby they did very good Service against O'Neal and his Fellow Rebels, who had of late been too Successful against the Protestants: On the other side, the Nuncio's Party were so Elevated with the Hopes of shaking off the English Yoak, neither of the two Kingdoms being now in a Capacity to Relieve Ireland, that the Romish Clergy thundered out Excommunication, against any that should Acquiesce in the said Peace and Agreement, and with an Army of 17000 Horse and Foot, resolved to Besiege Dublin; which so startled the Protestants, that the

Lord

Lord Lieutenant was obliged to Resume the former Treaty with the Parliaments Commissioners, and the King finding that all his Secret Transactions with the Earl of Glamorgan, were Discovered by the Letters taken at Nasby Fight, to the great Distaste of the People in general; and that all the Assurance he had from the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Digby, were Disappointed by the Falseness and Treachery of the Rebels: He, though with much Reluctancy, consented that all manner of Treaty with the Enemy, should cease; the Earl of Glamorgan being for a pretence Imprisoned; the Lord Lieutenant being prest with the Danger of a Seige from the Roman Catholick Confederates, in 1647. Delivered up Dublin to the Parliaments Commissioners, he having Articled for his passing freely to the King, on whom he waited, while the Army carried him about, and afterwards put him to Death; and from thence passed to France, from whence about September, 1648. The Cathedral Confederates, dreading a Storm from England, by Letters to the King, had importuned him to send for the said Marquess of Ormond, late Lord Lieutenant; and ordered him to return again into Ireland, upon their Ingagement and Protestation of Plenary Submission to his Majesties Authority, and to him as his Lieutenant, as being the only proper Person for that Employment: The Marques accordingly undertook it, and making an agreement with the Lord Inchiquin, and his Forces, and likewise with those of the Marques of Clanricard, and the Earl of Castlehaven, and the Confederate Catholicks, who had proclaimed the Nuncio's Party Rebels and Traytors; being all joyned under his Command, they designed to Reduce Dublin, then possesst by the Parliaments Forces; but differences soon arose about the Exercise of the Popish Religion,

on, and upon points of Command, whereby Owen O Neal, that had a considerable Party of Irish, was Disobliged, who thereupon makes an agreement with Collonel Monk, in the Name of the Parliament, though they afterwards disclaimed it; (but acknowledged his Faithfulness and Well-meaning therein, by a Vote of Parliament) considering how odious it would be, to have Assistance from Irish Rebels; However, he Aided them all he could, and relieved London-Derry, then Besieged by the Confederate Forces: At length, the Marquess of Ormond comes before Dublin with his Army, and obliges Collonel Jones the Governor, who had drawn out some of the Garrison to interrupt them, to retire into the City, which was indifferently Fortified, and plentifully Mann'd, both with Horse and Foot; and therefore he durst not venture his Army upon a Desparate Assault, since the Garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, lay so convenient to Attempt upon them, Commanded by Collonel Monk and O Neal: So that the Marquess wanting Money and Provisions, and the English and Irish Forces Murmuring against each other, he was almost resolved to have Marched away; but O Neals Party being soon after Defeated, and a Convoy of Arms and Ammunition, which were sent him by Collonel Monk, being taken by the Lord Inchiquin; Drogheda was Surrendred, together with Dundalk, the Garrison Compeling Collonel Monk to deliver it, and the Souldiers took up Arms for the King; the Garrison of Trim, was soon after taken from the Parliament; after which, the Lord Inchiquin brings up his Forces, now much increased, to Assist the Marquess at the Siege of Dublin; who Designed to shut up the Garrison within their works, and hinder them from getting Forrage, or to graze their Cattel without the Line, which was drawn round

round the Town; The Besieged perceiving the Danger of being thus closely confined, whereby they would have been prevented, of all Succour, both from Land and Sea; and knowing the Marquess's want of Horse to Guard the New Forts, resolved by a desperate Sally, to disturb them, which they made accordingly, Aug. 2. 1649. about 8 in the Morning, with 1200 Foot, and 4000 Horse, and finding the New Fortification slight, and the Resistance weak, they soon were Masters of it; from whence seeing the Irish fly in great Disorder, they contrary to the first intentions, pursued the Besiegers, even to the Avenues of their Camp, and being Animated by Collonel Jones, their Governor, who had newly received a Supply of 3000 Men from England, they fell with such fury upon the whole Army at Rachmines, consisting of 19000 Men, that in a short time, they put them to the Rout, killing 4000 on the place, and making 1517 Prisoners, many of them Persons of quality, taking all their Cannon, and a Rich Camp to reward the Souldiers. Most of the Lord Inchequeens Foot that at first made some Resistance, seeing the Day lost, changed sides, and joyned with the Parliaments Forces. All this was done in so short a space, and with so little noise, that the Lord Dillon, and the rest of the Marquess's Forces on the other side the River Liffy, knew nothing of it, till some runaways brought the News, the Irish making such hast home, in so pannick a fear, that the Lord Lieutenant could not possibly rally them; and therefore fled, with a considerable Party to Kilkenny, and there endeavoured to draw together as many of his Dispersed Troops as possible, with which he speeds away to Trim, and Drogkeda, where he had notice, that Oliver Cromwell, the Parliaments General, was Landed with considerable Forces, upon

on which he put a Garrison of 300 Horse, and 1500 Foot into Drogheda, which was thought sufficient, and having furnishit it with what Provisions he was able, and made Sir Arthur Aston Governor, went from thence to Trim and Terrogan; About this time, London-Derry possest by the Parliament, and Besieged by Ormonds Forces was relieved, and the Siege Raised, and not long after a Ship from Spain brought the Plague into Galloway, whereof a great number of the Irish dyed.

Cromwell having refresht his Men at Dublin, Marches to Besiege Drogheda, and made himself Master of it in a little time, after a stout Resistance from the Garrison, putting most of the Officers, and every Tenth Souldier to the Sword, to terrifie others from making Opposition against his Victorious Arms: Sir Arthur Aston, and several other principal Officers and Gentlemen, with near 3000 Souldiers being Slain; after this, Cromwell Besieges the Town of Wexford, and soon reduced it, even before the Lord Lieutenaants Eyes, with the losf of 2000 of the Irish; upon this, the Marquess makes an Agreement with Owen O Neal, whereby the Ulster Army were to joyn with his, under the Command of Luke Taaf, who was made Governor of Ross; but soon forced to surrender it to General Cromwell, after which, the Garrisons of Bandon-Bridge, Yough-Hall, Cork, Kingsale, and all the English Towns in Munster, declared for the Parliament; and Cromwell marched to Besiege Dungannon; but finding little hopes of reducing it quickly, he resolves to go to Kilkenny, and the Marquess of Ormond, and the Lord Inchiquan retiring without hindring his Mare'n, he took in several strong Towns and Forts, and at length Attacks Kilkenny with such Vigor, that he took it in 6 days time; after which, he Besieges Clonmell, a strong

strong Garrison, during which, Colonel Reynolds and Hewson attack Trim, and the Lord Broghill Defeats the Bishop of Ross, who designed to relieve Clonmell, which soon after was taken by Assault, and a great carriage made ; because of their Obstinatey in defending the same : After this Cromwell having in 10 Months done the Work of so many years, returns to England, and Colonel Ireton being made Lord Deputy is sent over thither, there being only Lymrick, Waterford, Galloway, and some few Castles in the hands of the Irish, the first of which, was Surrendred to him, Oct. 29. 1651. But he dying, Collonel Edmund Lud low, Succeeded him, as Lieutenant General of the Army of that Kingdom : The War was now almost at an end, and the Lord Claurivard being in Galloway, sends a Letter to Ludlow, to desire him to appoint Commissioners to meet with others, for the composure and conclusion of this wasting bloody War, which Ludlow refused ; but sent him word : ' That if the Irish would submit, they should have such Articles and Conditions, as were fit for them ; This prevailed on several Parties, as the Lord Muskeries, Fitz Patricks, and the Odroyrs to come in and submit upon condition, they might Transport their Forces into the Service of the King of Spain : The Earl of Ormond, and the Lord Inchiquen, not pleased with the face of Affairs, left that Kingdom some time before, and went to France ; and in 1652. the remaining Irish under the Lord Clanrick, and having received several Defeats by the English Forces, May 12. Galloway was Surrendred, and afterward the whole Country was Reduced to the Obedience of the English Parliament ; Sir Phelim O Neal, the Arch-Rebel, being likewise taken, Hanged and Quartered. The last of the Irish, who held out in the Boggs and Fastnesses, was General O Brian, who at length

length finding the weakness of his Party, and weary of his sculking condition, obtained the usual Articles of Transportation ; upon which Article it was reckoned, that from the year 1652. to 1653. near 27000. Irish had departed the Kingdom, and the rest were Transported into the Province of Connaught, environed on one side by the Sea, and lockt up by Rivers and Garrisons on the other, out of which they were not to stir, under a severe penalty : By this means, the Country was much Depopulated, and the Lord Fleetwood, and the Commissioners in Ireland sent over Letters, that some English Colonies might be sent thither to inhabit, great Privileges being offered to them that would Transport themselves ; and accordingly, went over to better their Fortunes, and in a short time, this Harassed and Ruinated Kingdom began to flourish again, both in Tillage, Buildings, and all other Accommodations.

' I have been very brief in relating any thing of the Affairs of England, or of the Actions of Oliver Cromwell, in this Kingdom ; having already published 2 Books, one, the History of the Wars of England, with all the most Remarkable passages, till the Death of King Charles I. And his Tryal and last Speech at large : And another, called the History of the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, with his Death and Burial ; both of the same value with this, to which I refer the Reader, for further Satisfaction.

In 1654. The Lord Fleetwood was Sworn Lord Deputy of Ireland, Serjeant Steel was made Lord Chancellor, and Serjeant Pepys Lord Chief Justice; Collonel Hammond, Corbet, with others, being made of the Privy Council, they ordered that March 1. 1654. should be the longest time allowed to the Irish, to Transport themselves out of that Kingdom, under very severe penalties. But a while after

after Oliver Cromwell having taken the Government upon himself, with the Title of Lord Protector, in July 1655. Henry Cromwell his Son, was made by him, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of the Lord Fleetwood, all things still continuing very quiet there: The same year, Arch-Bishop Ulster of Armagh dyed a Prelate of incomparable Learning and Piety, upon whose Funeral, the Protector expended 200 l. After the Death of Oliver Cromwell, his Son Richard Succeeded; but in a short time, was removed from the Government, by M. General Lambert, and the Army, and the Remnant of the Long Parliament restored in 1659, who sent Dispatches to the Lord Henry, to Surrender the Government of Ireland to Chancellor Steel, and Lord Chief Baron Corbet, which he did, without opposition; and to oblige the Parliament the more, signified by an Express, that he was preparing to come for England with all speed, to give them an account of that Kingdom; which he had left in a very good condition, and hoped that his Successor might reap more Content in the Government, than he hath found: After his Arrival, he applyed himself to the Council of State and had Liberty by an Order, to go into the Country, or whither he pleased.

But the Nation being Discontented at the continual Fluctuations of the Government, the Long Parliament being soon after turned out again by the Army, the People generally desired a Free Parliament: And General Monk marching out of Scotland with his Army, and Reinstating the Parliament; and restoring the Excluded Members in March 1659. they Dissolved themselves, having sent out Writs for Electing a New Representative to meet, April 25 following, and about the same time, Sir Charles Coote in Ireland, declares himself

for a Free Parliament ; and thereupon possessed himself of Dublin Castle, having before Surprized Galloway from Collonel Sadler in this manner : He invited him and his Officers all Zealots for the long Parliament, to his House over the Water to be merry ; which done, Sir Charles pretended a desire to drink a glass of Wine in Galloway privately with the Collonel : So they two Secretly took a Boat, with each a Servant, and being on the other side, Sir Charles said ; ‘ Collonel Sadler, I am resolved for a Free Parliament, and to have this Garrison ; you have a Sword about you, draw and fight, or else ingage your Honour, you will make no disturbance in the Town upon our Admission, and my Declaration ; To which Sadler, Surprized and Troubled, answered : He would Acquiesce : upon this he caused the Gate to be opened, and Sir Charles having declared himself, the Souldiers cryed out, A Coot, a Coot, and a Free Parliament : After this he secured Sadler, and Sir Hardress Waller at Dublin, and immediately all Ireland declared themselves satisfied in this Change, offering their Lives and Fortunes, in the Defence of the Parliament, then Assembled ; and soon after a Convention was called at Dublin, in Nature of a Parliament, to provide for the safety of the Kingdom, from whence the Lord Shannon, Sir John Clothworthy, and Major Aston were sent as Commissioners to England, where the Parliament Voted the Restoration of K. Charles II. and upon notice thereof, the like was done in Ireland, and several of the most Eminent of that Nation were upon the Kings Arrival at White-Hall, sent by the Convention to wait upon him in the Name of that Kingdom, with a tender of their Allegiance, and a Present of 4000 l. to the Duke of York ; and soon after the King was proclaimed, and universally acknowledged throughout the Kingdom.

But

But it was not long ere the great Inclinations to the Popish Partie in Ireland, were made apparent in the Court of England, and several Disputes arose about the Settlement of that Kingdom; which were Debated before the King and Council, where the Lord Chief Justice Santry in an Excellent Speech, Represented to the Board, the Horrid Rebellion of 1641, with the Barbarous and Inhuman Massacres, which he had been eyewitness of: In Opposition to which Sir Nich. Plunchel, one of the Popes Knights, endeavoured to defend the Irish, but so weakly, having a bad Cause to Manage, that the Lord Santry clearly carried the point in the Judgment of the Auditors; he desiring that they might be Tryed by the Common Law, where they would meet with a fair and indifferent Tryal by Juries of their Neighbours, and thereby could have no wrong done them: But the King having Dissolved the Convention, and called a Parliament in Ireland, he prevailed so much upon them, that an Act of Settlement was pressed, and a Court of Claims thereby erected, who were to Determine all Differences between the English and Irish Proprietars of the Lands there, and to declare who were Nocent, and who Innocent Papists: These Commissioners being Nominated by the King, he had so great an influence over them, that they commonly gave their Opinions according to his Direction, which was oftentimes very favourable to the Irish Rebels, particularly in the Case of the Earl of Antrim, one of the chief of them, as by the following Letter to the D<sup>r</sup>. of Ormond then Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy Council there, doth appear.

CHARLES R.

R ight Trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors, &c. We greet you well. How far

' far we have been from interposing on the behalf  
' of any of our Irish Subjects, who by their miscar-  
' riages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of  
' Ireland, had made themselves unworthy of our  
' Grace and Protection, is notorious to all Men;  
' and we were so jealous in that particular, that  
' shortly after our return into this our Kingdom,  
' when the Marquess of Antrim came hither to pre-  
' sent his Duty to us, upon the Information we re-  
' ceived from those Persons who then attended us,  
' by a Deputation from our Kingdom of Ireland, or  
' from those who at that time owned our Authori-  
' ty there, that the Marquess of Antrim had so mis-  
' behaved himself towards us, and our late Royal  
' Father of Blessed Memory, that he was in no de-  
' gree worthy of the least Countenance from us, and  
' that they had manifest and unquestionable Evi-  
' dence of such his Guilt. Whereupon we refuse to  
' admit the said Marquess so much as into our Pre-  
' sence; but on the contrary, committed him Pri-  
' soner to our Tower of London; where after he  
' had continued several Months under a strict re-  
' straint, upon the continued Information of the  
' said Persons, we sent him into Ireland, without  
' interposing the least on his behalf, but left him to  
' undergo such a Trial and Punishment, as by the  
' Justice of that our Kingdom should be found due  
' to his Crime, expecting still that some heinous  
' Matter would be objected and proved against him,  
' to make him incapable, and to deprive him of  
' that Favour and Protection from us, which we  
' know his former Actions and Services had Merit-  
' ed. After many Months attendance there, and  
' (we presume) after such Examinations as were  
' requisite, he was at last dismissed without any Cen-  
' sure, and without any transmission of Charge a-  
' gainst him to us, and with a Licence to Transport  
himself

himself into this Kingdom : We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone, for his Affections and Fidelity to our Royal Father and our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from those Calamities, which yet do lye as heavy upon him since, as before our happy Return. And thereupon we recommended him to you our Lieutenant, that you should move our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be Transmitted to us, for the Re-investing him the said Marquess, in the possession of his Estate in that our Kingdom, as had been done in some other Cases. To which Letter, you our said Lieutenant returned us answer, That you had informed our Council of that our Letter, and that you were upon consideration thereof, unanimously of Opinion, that such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to us; the Reason whereof would forthwith be presented to us from our Council. After which time we received the inclosed Petition from the said Marquess, which we referred to the Considerations and Examinations of the Lords of our Privy Council, whose Names are mentioned in that our Reference, which is annexed to the said Petition ; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquess of Antrim, did not think to make any Report to us, till they might see and understand the Reasons which induced you not to transmit the Bill we had proposed, which Letter was not then come to our Hands. After which time we have received your Letter of the 18th of March, together with several Petitions which had been presented to you, as well from the Old Soldiers and Adventurers, as from the Lady Marchioness of Antrim, all which we likewise transmit-

ted to the Lord's Referees; Upon a second Petition presented to us by Lord Marquess, which is here likewise enclosed, commanding our said Referees to take the same into their serious consideration and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole matter to us, upon a third Petition herein likewise inclosed; we required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but observe, that no Opportunity how just soever, could prevail with us to bring our self to a Judgment in this Affair, without very ample Information. Our said Referees after several Meetings, and perusal of what had been offered to them by the said Marquess, have reported unto us, That they have seen several Letters, all of them the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the said Marquess, and several Instructions concerning his Treating and Joining with the Irish, in order to the King's Service, by reducing to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them, for the Service of Scotland. That besides the Letters and Orders under his Majesty's Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several private Messages and Directions sent from our Royal Father, and from our Royal Mother, with the Privity, and with the Directions of the King our Father; by which they are persuaded, that whatever Intelligence, Correspondence or Acting; the said Marquess had with the Confederate Irish Catholicks, was directed or allowed by the said Letters, Instructions and Directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, that THE KING OUR FATHER WAS WELL PLEASED WITH WHAT THE MARQUESS DID, AFTER HE HAD DONE IT, AND APPROVED THE SAME.

This

'This being the true State of the Marquess his  
'Case, and there being nothing proved upon the  
'first Information against him, nor any thing  
'contained against him in your Letter of March  
'18; but that you were informed he had put in his  
'Claim before the Commissioners, appointed for  
'executing the Act of Settlement; and that if his  
'Innocency be such as is alledged, there is no need  
'of Transmitting such a Bill to us, as is desired; and  
'that if he be Nocent, it consists not with the Duty  
'which you owe to us, to transmit such a Bill, as if  
'it should pass into a Law, must needs draw a great  
'prejudice upon so many Adventurers and Sol-  
'diers, which are, as is alledged, to be therein con-  
cerned. We have considered of the Petition of  
the Adventurers and Souldiers, which was trans-  
mitted to us by you; the Equity of which consists  
in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in  
Possession, for the space of seven or eight Years,  
of those Lands which were formerly the Estate of  
the Marquess of Antrim, and others, who were  
all engaged in the late Irish Rebellion; and that  
they shall suffer very much, and be ruined, if those  
Lands should be taken from them. And we have  
likewise considered another Petition from several  
Citizens of London, near sixty in number, directed  
to our self, wherein they desire, that the Marquess  
his Estate may be made liable to the payment of  
his just Debts, that so they may not be ruined in  
the Favour of the present Possessors, who (they  
say) are but a few Citizens and Soldiers, who  
have disbursed very small Sums thereon. Upon  
the whole matter no Man can think we are less en-  
gaged by our Declaration, and by the Act of Set-  
tlement, to protect those who are Innocent, and  
who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the  
Crown, how unfortunate soever; than to expose

' to Justice those who have been really and malici-  
 ' ously Guilty. And therefore we cannot in Justice,  
 ' but upon the Petition of the Marquess of Antrim,  
 ' and after the serious and strict Inquisition into his  
 ' Actions, declare unto you, That WE DO FIND  
 ' HIM INNOCENT FROM ANY MALICE OR  
 ' REBELLIOUS PURPOSE AGAINST THE  
 ' CROWN; and that what he did by way of Cor-  
 ' respondence, or Compliance with the Irish Rebels,  
 ' was in order to the Service of our Royal Father,  
 ' and warranted by his Instructions, and the Trust  
 ' reposed in him; and that the Benefit thereof ac-  
 ' crued to the Service of the Crown, and not to  
 ' the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Mar-  
 ' quess. And as we cannot in Justice deny him this  
 ' Testimony, so we require you to transmit our  
 ' Letter to our Commissioners, that they may know  
 ' our Judgment in this Case of the Lord of Antrim,  
 ' and proceed accordingly. And so we bid you hear-  
 ' tily farewell.

Given at our Court at White-Hall, July 10. in the  
 15th. Year of our Reign, 1663.

To our Right Trusty and Right intirely well-  
 beloved Cousin and Counsellor, James  
 D. of Ormond our Lieutenant General,  
 and General Goverour of our  
 Kingdom of Ire-  
 land; and to the  
 Lords of our Coun-  
 cil of that our  
 Kingdom.

HENRY BENNET.

Entered at the Signet Office July 13, 1663,  
 Soon

short after, the following Answer of the D. of Ormond, and the Irish Privy Council, to the foregoing Letter, was sent to Sir Henry Bennet, Principal Secretary of State.

'On the 20. I the Lord Lieutenant, received 'His Majesty's Letter of July 10. concerning the 'Marquess of Antrim; which I imparted to the 'Council; upon reading whereof at this Board we 'observing, that though in several other matters 'relating to the proceedings of His Majesty's Com- 'missioners appointed for executing the Act of Set- 'tlement, his Majesty vouchsafed to direct this Let- 'ter to the Commissioners: Yet that those Letters 'concerning the Marquess of Antrim, are directed 'to us the Lieutenant and Council, requiring us to 'Transmit the same to the Commissioners, that 'they may know His Majesties Judgment in the 'Case of the Lord Antrim, as it stands stated in 'those His Majesties Letters, and proceed accor- 'dingly: We hence gathered, that His Majesty did 'judge it fit, that those His Letters for the Marquess 'of Antrim, should be directed to us, to the end, 'that if we his Majesties Servants here upon the 'place, should find more in the Marquess of An- 'trims Case, than are in those Letters taken notice 'of either in relation to his Majesty, or his Affairs, 'then in such Case, we might Humbly Represent 'the same to His Majesty; And as it was the Use and 'Custom here in former Times, and particularly 'in the Times of his Majesty's Royal Father of 'Blessed Memory: That if any Directions came 'from the King, which in the Execution thereof, 'might occasion inconveniencies to his Majesties 'Service, the same was stay'd, until the matter was 'by the Chief Governor here Humbly Represented 'to the King: So it is also agreeable to his Majesties 'Instructions to me the Lord Lieutenant, particu- 'larly

larly in things relating to his Majesty's Revenue, which likewise is the present Case : For his Majesties Revenue's are like to be hereby much lessened, and moreover it is agreeable likewise with his now Majesties gracious pleasure, signified thither by the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, by their Letters of Aug. 12. 1661. directed to the late Justices and Council ; wherein it was declared, That his Majesty and the Lords of the most Honourable Privy Council were well assured of a Demur the said Justices and Council had made upon Letters from His Majesty, and their Forbearance to proceed thereupon, till they should receive His Majesties further pleasure : And therefore upon full consideration thereof had at this Board, we humbly conceive, that it is our Duty to His Majesty, to defer for sometime, the Transmitting the said Letters to the said Commissioners, till we shall have Represented to His Majesty, that which appears to us here ; which it seems was not made known to His Majesty, or those Lords of the Privy Council, to whose consideration, his Majesty refer'd the Marquess of Antrims Petitions, mentioned in his Majesties Letters : We observe that his Majesties said Letters seem to be grounded on these particulars.

1. That after many Months Attendance here, and as his Majesty is pleased to declare ; that he presumes that after such examinations as were requisite, the Marquess of Antrim was dismissed hence, without any Censure, and without Transmitting any Charge against him to his Majesty ; and nothing proved against him on the first Information, nor any thing contained against him in our Letters of March 18.
2. The Report made by these Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, to whom his Majesty refer'd the Consideration of the Lord of Antrims Petj.

Petitions : 3. That the Marquesses Case as it stands stated in those Letters, is the true State of his his Case. As to the first we find, that the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, by their Letters of Dec. 19. 1660. directed to the Justices of this Kingdom, signified, that the Marquess of Antrim, then Prisoner in the Tower of London, Petitioned His Majesty to be heard, as to his being Criminal in the Aspersing the Memory of the late King our Sovereign ; and their Lordships by these Letters, required the Justices with all convenient speed, to send their Lordships Authentick Copies of all Papers whatsoever, under his own Hand, or any other which may any way relate to the said Marquess his being guilty of so foul a Crime as the Defaming his late Majesty; and that the Justices should cause all such Witnesses reside in this Kingdom, who can alledge any thing to the proving thereof to be examined, and the Examinations to be returned to their Lordships attested by us, and the Justices appointed to take the same ; and in pursuance of those Letters, the Justices caused a Commission to issue under his Majesties Great Seal to several Persons, some of them Members of this Board, and some of His Majesties Judges, and some of his Learned Council, to call before them, and examine Witnesses upon Oath, concerning the Lord of Antrims Aspersing the Memory of his late Majesty, That those Commissioners having examined several Witnesses, and returned their examinations to the Justices, with their Letters of Feb. 20. 1660. directed to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Transmitted the same to their Lordships. That March 29. 1661. it was ordered by his Majesty in Council, that in order to a further proceeding here against the Lord Antrim, the Examinations and other Papers should be return-

ed hither. Thus far the matter proceeded, before the Arrival of the Lord Lieutenant in this Kingdom, Aug. 18. 1661. the Lord Chief Justice Santry made a report at this Board, of the Examinations taken concerning the Marquess, and upon his Petition it was ordered : That the Chief Justice should Cancel the Recognizance acknowledged by the Marquess and his Sureties, and as to his being Criminal in Aspersing and Defaming the Memory of his Majesties Royal Father, we Humbly crave leave to send herewith the said Examinations, and other Papers concerning the same ; which we Humbly Submit to his Majesty's Consideration, and we confess we are not willing upon these Examinations and Papers, to aggravate any thing against him ; and therefore it was, that there was no censure, nor any Transmission of charge against him to his Majesty ; and as to our Letters of March 18. we confess there is nothing contained therein against him, nor indeed, under favour, did we conceive it proper in these Letters, to object any thing of Crime to him : Our work in those Letters, being but to inform his Majesty, only of the particulars then under consideration, and what occurred upon occasion of two Petitions exhibited, the one by the Lady Marchioness of Antrim ; the other in the Name of several Adventurers and Soldiers, and their Assignes and Tenants ; for we did not imagine the Lord Marquess would have attempted to put His Majesty upon a difficulty of giving a Rule contrary to the Act of Settlement ; but would have abiden the Tryal in the proper way prescribed by the Act, wherein it is provided, that the said Marquess shall be restored to his Estate in such Manner and Form, and according to such Order and Method, and no other ; as the Lord Viscount Neiterville, and the Lord Viscount Gilmoy ought.

ought by virtue of the Act to be restored; and besides we had no notice from thence, that the matters relating to the said Marques's, were under Debate or Consideration there; which might give us occasion humbly to Represent to his Majesty those things which now for his Majesties Service, we are necessitated to do.

To the Second, namely the report made, that those of the Lords of the Council to whom his Majesty refer'd the Marquesses Petition, we must acknowledge the justice of their Lordships proceedings, upon what appeared to them: But there are some which we do verily believe, were not made known to them; and which do appear to us here, wherein we may not be silent, without breach of Justice to his Majesty: For I the Lord Lieutenant, do well know, that the Peaces made by me in 1646. and in 1648. in this Kingdom, and both derived by Authority from his Majesties Royal Father, was both opposed by the Lord Marques of Antrim, who continually served with the Popes Nuncio and his Adherents against his Majesties authority then intrusted with me the Lieutenant, and appeared active in all Assemblies and Councils, wherein he was present, in open opposition to all Members of those Assemblies and Councils, who endeavoured to incline the People to Submission to the Peace: when I the Lord Lieutenant laboured earnestly by all Just and Honourable ways and means, to Reduce his Majesties Subjects in this Kingdom, to their due Obedience to his Majesty, and to give him assistance whereof he stood in need, in the greatest, and most imaginable necessity; and when the Marques of Antrim and the Popes Nuncio, and Clergys Party and their Adherents, laboured industriously to withdraw them from their Obedience and Assistance to his Majesty, and

' and so far prevailed, that when things were in a  
' tendency towards sending Ten Thousand Men to  
' his Majesties Assistance, the Lord of Antrim de-  
clared openly in the Confederates great Assembly,  
' that not a Man should go out of the Province of  
' Ulster, and in the end, both these Peaces were by  
' that Disloyalty to his Majesty, and by the Coun-  
' tenance and Continuance of the said Marques, Ren-  
' dred Fruitless, and what great and general Evils  
' followed thereupon to his Majesty, and all his  
' Kingdoms, we need not now repeat; whence it  
' was, that in the *Act of Settlement* it is enacted;  
' that such as at any time adhered to the Nuncio's or  
' Clergy's Party, or papal power in opposition to the  
' King's Authority, shall not be restored as Innocent  
' Papists: And this being the Marques of Antrims  
' Case, how far it may be fit for his Majesty (in the  
' greatest Humility we mention it) to direct, con-  
trary to the said *Act of Parliament*, that the Com-  
missioners upon these His Majesties Letters should  
proceed to find him Innocent (for so the Letter  
seems to imply,) and that, as we humbly con-  
ceive, without giving any Latitude of power to  
the Commissioners to examine matter of Fact  
pursuant to the said *Act of Parliament*: We  
humbly submit to His Majesties Great Wisdom and  
as we humbly conceive, it is not to be imagined,  
that his late Majesty a Prince of most Eminent  
Honour and Prudence, would privately intrust the  
Marques of Antrim to oppose the conclusion of  
those Peaces, for the obtaining whereof, his Ma-  
jesty had given publick authority to the Lieutenant;  
or that he ever gave any Subsequent approbation,  
which tended to his said Majesties utter ruine; and  
if it should be supposed that the Marques his com-  
pliance with the Nuncio's and Clergies Party,  
though most irreconcileable Enemies to the Eng-  
lish

lith Crown and Interest, might have been allowed  
of by his said Majesty; upon the Marqueses un-  
dertaking to employ the Credit he should thereby  
gain amongst them, to dispose them at least to  
forbear that violent opposition to all Overtures  
tending to the Reduction of the Irish Confederates  
to their Obedience, and to the Assistance of his  
late Majesty: It cannot be rationally supposed, as  
we humbly conceive; but that the Reason and End  
of the Marques's Compliance, would either by  
his late Majesty, for the better Management of the  
affair, or by the Marques himself, for his Security  
and Exceration, have been made known to me  
the Lord Lieutenant; the Marques having frequent  
opportunity to do it: The conclusion of this point  
is, that as the Marques his constant opposition to  
all the Motions of Peace set on foot, by virtue of  
authority derived from his late Majesty, hath been  
made apparent to us by sufficient proofs: So it is  
clearly manifested by his taking the Oath of Allo-  
cation, a Copy whereof is here inclosed, and that  
by the Administration of those who when they  
had, by his Assurances prevailed in the Breach  
of the Peace, and of the publick Faith of the Con-  
federates, assumed to themselves in the year 1646.  
the Government of that Party, under the Name  
of a Supream Council; as also by his becoming one  
of that Council, and Signing several Letters and  
Instruments, whereof some were directed to me  
the Lieutenant, and all this without any Corre-  
spondence with me, or the least private intimation,  
that his purpose in those his proceedings, had any  
Authority from his Majesty, or any respect to his  
Service: And as to the third, the two last men-  
tioned particulars, do seem to us to manifest, that  
the Marques's Case as it stands stated in these Let-  
ters, is not the whole state of the Case, seeing those  
Materi-

' Material things are omitted therein, which w  
' have before expressed, which indeed we should  
' willingly have forbear, if our silence could have  
' consisted with the Duty which we owe to his Ma-  
'jesty, and to the Settlement of this Kingdom, and  
' to that which we humbly conceive, is expected  
' from us by his Majesty: For there is now, and  
' hath been for above a Month last past, under our  
' Consideration here, the Draught of a New Act,  
' to supply those Defects in the present Act of Set-  
'tlement; which experience hath manifested to be  
' come absolutely necessary to be remedied, in or-  
' der to the General Settlement of this Kingdom;  
' and it is most evident, that if the said Marques  
' shall be declared Innocent, and that in so extra-  
' ordinary a way as it would be contrary to the  
' Act of Settlement; being the Publick and Fun-  
' damental Security of Mens Estates; so it would  
' have this further operation; that the end of that  
' intended Act, for gaining of Reprizals for the  
' Estates of justly Restorable Persons, such as his  
' Majesty by his Gracious Declaration, was pleased  
' to acknowledge himself obliged to provide for,  
' will become in an high Degree disappointed, and  
' what general Mischiefs and Inconveniences may  
' hereupon follow, to the Settlement of the King-  
' dom in general, is very apparent: When we had  
' thus far proceeded in Our Letter, a Petition of  
' the Adventurers and Souldiers, and their Assigns  
' concerning the Estate formerly belonging to the  
' said Marques, was exhibited at this Board; which  
' being read before us, we find it to contain such  
' matters concerning the Marques of Autrim, as  
' we humbly conceive are necessary upon this oc-  
' casion, to be made known to his Majesty; and  
' therefore do esteem it our Duty, to exhibit it to  
' his Majesties Review and Royal consideration; all  
which

' which we Humbly submit to his Majesties excell-  
 ' ent Judgment ; and we desire you to move his  
 ' Majesty for a Signification of his good pleasure  
 ' herein to us his Servants, as speedily as with con-  
 ' venience may be, if his Majesty in his Wisdom,  
 ' shall so judge fit and so we remain from the Coun-  
 ' cil Chamber at Dublin. July 31. 1663. Your afflu-  
 ' ted loving Friends. *Ormond, Maurice Eustace Chan-  
 ' cellor, James Dublin, Ossory, Shannon Dungannon, Hen.  
 ' Midenfis, Mich. Cork, William Lawfield, Rich. Coot,  
 ' Hen. Tickburn, Rob. Forth, James Ware, George  
 ' Wentworth, Robert Merideth, Theoph. Jones, Thomas  
 Clergiss*

To the Right Honourable Sir Hen. Bennet Knight,  
 his Majesties Principal Secretary of State.

But what effect this Letter had, and what the  
 Marques of Antrim's true Case was, appears by the  
 following Letter ; which fully states the same.

Dublin Aug. 22. 1663.

Ever Honoured Sir, Last Thursday we came  
 to Tryal with my Lord Marques of Autrim ;  
 but according to my Fears ( which you always sur-  
 mised to be in vain ) he was by the King's Extraor-  
 dinary and Peremptory Letter of Favour, restored  
 to his Estate, as an Innocent Papist. We proved  
 eight Qualifications in the Act of Settlement  
 against him, the last of which made him uncapa-  
 ble of being restored as Innocent. We proved,  
 1. That he was to have a Hand in Surprizing the  
 Castle of Dublin, in the Year 1641. 2. That he  
 was of the Rebels Party before the 15th. of Sep-  
 tember, 1643. Which we made appear by his  
 hourly and frequent Intercourse with Renny O  
 Moore, and many others ; being himself the most  
 notorious of the said Rebels. 3. That he entered into

'into the Roman Catholick Confederacy before the  
 'Peace in 1643. 4. That he constantly adhered to  
 'the Nuncio's Party, in opposition to his Majesty's  
 'Authority. 5. That he sat from time to time in  
 'the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. 6. That he  
 'signed that execrable Oath of Association. 7. That  
 'he was commissionated, and acted as Lieutenant  
 'General from the said Assembly at Kilkenny. 8.  
 'That he declared by several Letters of his own pen-  
 'ning, himself in conjunction with Owen Ro-  
 'Oneal, and a constant Opposer to the several  
 'Peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the  
 'Irish. We were seven hours by the Clock in pro-  
 'ving our Evidence against him; but at last the  
 'King's Letter being opened, and read in Court,  
 'Rainsford, one of the Commissioners, said to us,  
 'That the King's Letter on his behalf was Evidence  
 'without exception, and thereupon declared him  
 'to be an Innocent Papist. This Cause, Sir, hath  
 '(tho' many Reflections have passed upon the  
 'Commissioners before,) more startled the Jura-  
 'ments of all Men, than all the Tryals since the  
 'beginning of their sitting; and it is very strange  
 'and wonderful to all of the Long Robe, that the  
 'King should give such a Letter, having divested  
 'himself of that Authority, and reposed the Trust  
 'in Commissioners for that purpose: And likewise  
 'it is admired, that the Commissioners having ta-  
 'ken solemn Oaths, to execute nothing but accord-  
 'ing to, and in pursuance of the Act of Settle-  
 'ment, should barely upon his Majesty's Letter, de-  
 'clare the Marquis Innocent: To be short, there  
 'never was so great a Rebel, that had so much Fa-  
 'vour from so good a King: And it is very evident,  
 'that the Consequence of these things will be very  
 'bad; and if God of his extraordinary Mercy do  
 'not prevent it, War, and (if possible) greater  
 Judgments,

Judgments, cannot be far from us; where Vice is Patroniz'd, and Antrim, a Rebel upon Record, and so lately and clearly proved one, should have no other Colour for his Actions, but the King's own Letter; which takes off all Imputations from Antrim, and lays them totally upon his own Father. Sir I shall by the next, if possible, send you over one of our Briefs against my Lord, by some Friend: It's too large for a Pacquet, it being no less in Bulk, than a Book of Martyrs.

We might the Irish decline their Tryals by indifferent Juries, and Appeal to this Court of Claims, which the Lord Chief Justice Santry declared, was like the Usurpers High Court of Justice, Arbitrary and Unlimited; and the English complained, that the Natives by this Illegal Court, were made Innocent, though they were known to be deeply concerned in the Rebellion; for that it was beyond all peradventure, that not 10 of the Irish Papists were free from Rebellion and Murther, and most of them stood Indicted and Outlawed for Treason, and therefore dispaired upon their Tryal at the Bar, to make any considerable defence: Upon this, a New Act was prepared to explain the former; But Talbot (after Tyrconnel) being made a Principal Agent for the Irish, and they insinuating themselves into the favour of Rainsford (afterward made a Judge in England, for his good Services in Ireland) and the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, it so fell out, that though it was believed upon the Kings Restoration, there could not have been the twentieth part of Ireland gained from the English: Yet by Recommendatory Letters, and other Stratagems of the Court in England, there was almost an half of the Kingdom in value lost, and at the same time, the most Innocent Irish lost their Estates, and the greatest Rebels, got twice more than they had before

before the Rebellion began ; to such a height was Popery already grown, which so far incouraged the Irish, that they often told the English, that in a short time, the Protestants must be all of their Religion.

In 1669. The Lord Roberts, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; but soon recalled, and John Lord Berkley was sent in his Room. In 1670. The Papists set up a pretence, that the King when in Exile, had ingaged to the French King, to restore the Irish to their Religion and Estates ; which not being done, might occasion a Breach with that Crown : Whereupon Commissions were sent to Irish Papists, to make them Justices of Peace, in which Office they soon discovered themselves to be so partial and insolent, that their proceedings were abhor'd, not only by the Protestants ; but the most thinking Irish : After this, there was a design for Regulating the Corporations of Ireland, and the Popish Party began with Dublin where without any Legal proceeding or pretence, 7 of the Aldermen, and Sir William Davis the Recorder, who were opposite to the Romish Party, were turned out in a Tumultuous Irregular manner, and 7 of the Rabble put in their places ; and Sir Ellis Leaton the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, was made Recorder ; and Papists were daily brought into the Common Council, to the great Terror of the Citizens, who plainly perceived, that the design was apparently level'd at the Foundation of the Protestant Interest and Religion, and for introducing Popery and Arbitrary Power ; In which Opinion, they were confirmed by some Passages that happened about the same time ; Particularly that Talbot the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, in 1672. Desiring of the Lord Lieutenant, to borrow the Hangings of the Castle, Silver Candlesticks, and other Plate, to the use at High Meats, they were

were sent by Sir Ellis Leaton, with this Complement; that he hoped to have High Mass by Christmas at Christ-Church: To effect which, soon after an horrid Plot was discovered, whereby all the Protestants were to have been barbarously Murthered; and the Signal appointed, to Distinguish the Irish from the Hereticks, was a Cross of Straw, which the Priests earnestly enjoyned every one to fix over their Doors, telling them the omission thereof might be their Ruine; for where the Cross were not found, they would be destroyed as Hereticks: But this Horrid Conspiracy being happily Discovered, upon Search, small Crosses of Straw not easily perceived, were found on the Houles of most of the Irish in the Province of Munster: But the Government of Ireland was at that time so Popishly inclined, that they would not encourage the further Discovery thereof; and those that appeared earnest in laying it open, had their Cattel stole, and were threatned to have their Houses burnt; so that the whole Villainy was husht up in silence.

In 3673. The Earl of Essex was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the proceedings in the former year, being thought by Courts of England too bare-faced; This worthy and prudent Governor, managed Affairs with so much skill and integrity, that the Papists could hope for no Advantage, whilst he held the Sword; therefore one Sheredon, and Edward Coleman, were thought fit Instruments to embarrass Affairs, and manage the Catholick Interest; but by the unparallel'd Conduct of this prudent Earl, he so far outvy'd the Romish Politicks, as to cajole that Party into an approbation of those Proceedings; which proved fatally Destructive to their designs, of which at length, the D. of York was so sensible, that he became his inveterate enemy, and set up private designs against him; and at length prevail'd

prevailed to have him recalled; and in 1677. the Duke of Ormond was again sent Lord Lieutenant thither.

This year the Papists set up another Project, which was that the French should make some new Demands for the Irish, upon pretence of the Articles made by King Charles II. in their favour, and the King of England was to admit the French to Land Men: The Earl of Tyrone, the Lord Brittas and others, were also to raise Men in Ireland, in order to make a diversion to the putting the Popish Plot in force in England; and an Insurrection was designed at the same time in Ireland; the King was unacquainted with the chief part of the Contrivance, the Duke of York having undertaken to qualify him, if he should hear of the Irish Intrigue; but this was divulged by some of the Irish, and the King was hardly prevailed with, not to believe it; at length the King and Council fearing some danger from Ireland, the Duke of Ormond was sent thither, and the Duke of York did not think it seasonable to oppose it; but yet prevailed so powerfully with the King, that he sent Orders for raising Men in Ireland, upon pretence of Foreign Service; they were all Papists, except some Officers who were ready to be so; but the Lord Lieutenant would not deliver them Arms; so they were exercised with Sticks;

The next year, 1678. the Popish Plot was discovered in England; and soon after that in Ireland, which was detected by those of their own Party and Religion, not one Protestant appearing as evidence against them: Upon which, Orders came from England, for Disarming all Papists; but their Friends at Court, had given them timely notice to conceal them, so that not above 150 Arms were found among all the Papists in Ireland, they hiding them in Boggs, and

and other secret places without any Damage; the Lord Brittas and others escaped into France, the Earl of Tyrone was committed to the Gate-House; Talbot (since Tyrconnel) with his Brother the Popish Archbishop, were imprisoned in Dublin Castle, where the last dyed: The Duke of York was sent to Flanders, and all things appeared so discouraging, that an Irish Lord swore a great Oath; that he believed Jesus Christ was a Protestant, for that nothing they could do did prosper.

The Parliament of England were very busie in searching into the bottom of the Popish Conspiracy, and found many Great Persons concerned therein; several Papists were executed for the same; but still the Court endeavoured by all manner of Arts to obstruct any further Discoveries, the Duke of Yorks Interest still prevailing, who was come from Flanders; but upon the sitting of the Parliament, was obliged to go to Scotland, from whence he sent private Encouragements to the Irish Papists, not to despair of retrieving all again: But the English there were very secure, as judging themselves happy under the peaceable Government of the D. of Ormond, and their Interest in Ireland seemed more firm than ever; because they were of Opinion, that this late Conspiracy of the Irish, would prevent the Kings shewing them any kindness for the future; the Lord Lieutenant likewise procured a Grant for calling a Parliament there, the News whereof so alarm'd the Duke of York, that he came with all speed from Scotland to prevent it, which he likewise effected, and the Irish afterward boldly affirmed, *That there would be no Parliament, till the Duke came to the Crown;* which they seemed to believe, would be very shortly, and accordingly the Death of King Charles the II. happened in February

bruary 1684. following, which still remains a Mystery, though the Papists in Ireland for some time before, could fix upon the utmost period of his Life : And now the long looken for day was come, which so Transported them after all the Dangers and Difficulties they had met with, that they could hardly contain their joys within any bounds.

So soon as King Charles II. was Dead, the Duke of Ormond was removed from the Government of Ireland ; and upon his Arrival in England, found King James inclined to such violent Courses, as it is thought broke his Heart, he dying soon after: Before his going, he called his Officers of his Army together, and taking a glafs of Wine in his Hand, ‘ Look here Gentlemen ( says he ) they say at Court ‘ I am now become an old Doting Fool, you see, ‘ my Hand doth not shake ; nor does my Heart fail, ‘ nor doubt I , but I shall make some of them see ‘ their mistake.

The Lord Primate, and the Lord Granard, were now made Lords Justices of Ireland ; but the dayly reported insolencies of their Irish Nobility and Gentry, as well as the Commonalty, soon made them weary of their Government ; For they repaired in great Numbers to Dublin, and in all places reproached and abused the English, with the most impious Calumnies and Reflections ; and those that refused to drink Confusion to all Protestants and their Religion, were seised with Warrants, and threatned to be Murthered : The Defeat of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. heightned their Rage more, and made them Contrive Hellish Plots against the Lives and Estates of the Protestants, under the pretence that they designed to Massacre the Irish, though they themselves knew too well, that such an Horrid Attempt was as impossible, as Ridiculous, if any should have been so Villainous to have contrived it,

since

in the most parts of the Kingdom, the Irish were vastly more numerous than the English, nay in some Countries an 100 Families for one.

After this, Tyrconnel began to Model the Army and Disarm the Protestants, upon pretence that Monmouth's Rebellion had infected many, and might delude more in that Kingdom; and the Irish declared, that if any Arms were found in the Protestants Hands, they would be judged Persons Disaffected to the King and his Government; which so affrighted many, that they brought in their own Arms, and delivered them up to the Papists: After which, Tyrconnel went to England, accompanied with one Neagle, a cunning Irish Lawyer, who published an account of the injustice of the Act of Settlement, reflecting with all manner of Invectives against King Charles II. But matters being not ripe enough in England, King James did not think it convenient to propose Tyrconnel for Lord Lieutenant at present; and therefore it was contrived by the Popish Cabal, that the Earl of Clarendon should go over Lord Lieutenant and Tyrconnel Lieutenant General of the Army.

When the Earl arrived there, the English were much Discouraged, because of his Relation to the King; but their Hopes were extreamly revived, when they found him acting with inviolable Integrity to the Protestant: The Irish Grandees were very little concern'd at it, proceeding still with all violence, in ruining the Protestants Interest, and animating their vassals with hopes, that he would soon be removed, the Irish Composing Barbarous Songs in praise of Tyrconnel; and that his Heroick Hand, should Destroy the English Church: They declared publickly, 'That they liked no Government, but that of France; and that they would make King James as Absolute as King Lewis; that

they would shortly have the English Churches and  
Houles, and if they suffered them to live, would  
make them *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*; That Ireland must be a Catholick Country,  
and that they would make the English as poor.  
Devils, as when they came first thither: And of  
this they were so confident, that the most Serious  
amongst them, privately advised their Protestant  
Friends, to change their Religion; ' For said they,  
you will be forced to do it in a while, and if you  
delay a little time, it may be too late; and per-  
haps you may not be accepted, for no Protestant  
must expect to enjoy any thing in this Kingdom,  
and we resolve to reduce all things to the State  
they were in before Poinings Act in King Henry 7  
time: Yea King James himself, and his followers  
use to say, ' That the Irish must be restored to their  
former Power, Estates, and Religion in that King-  
dom; and when the English Objected, that their  
proceedings were Arbitrary and against Law, they  
called them Traytors, ' Crying, Damn your Laws, it  
is the Kings Pleasure it should be so; and you are  
all a company of Rebels, because you are not of  
the Kings Religion; and will not own his Will  
and Pleasure, to be above all Laws.

But the English Roman Catholicks, were not so  
confident of their Game, so that a general meeting  
of the chief of them at the Savoy, before Father  
Peters, they seemed very doubtful of the Kings  
Capacity, or willingness to expose himself to the  
hazard of securing the Catholick Religion in his  
Reign, considering his Age; and the almost insur-  
mountable difficulties, they were to encounter with  
to effect it; and therefore moved the King, that  
their Estates might be secured by an Act of Parlia-  
ment, with Liberty of Exercising their Religion only  
privately; but Peters opposed this, as a considera-

tion too worldly, adding, that if they would pursue his measures, he doubted not to see the Holy Church Triumphant in England: Other Papists desired the King they might have Liberty to sell their Estates, and retire into France; and by his Intercession, might be provided for in that Kings Dominions; To which he replyed, 'that before their desires came to him, he had often thought of them, and had as he believed, provided a sure Sanctuary for them in Ireland, if all those endeavours should be blasted in England, which he had made for their Security; and of whose Success he had not reason to despair, adding many zealous Expressions of his extream kindness for the Catholick Church: 'As that he resolved rather to dye a Martyr, than not to settle the Roman Religion, and that he would choose to dye the next day, that design being compassed; rather than live 50 years without effecting it, having already been almost a Martyr for the Catholick Cause, which had been the occasion of all his Troubles.'

In pursuance of these Resolutions, the King gave himself wholly up to the Conduct and Counsels of the Furious Jesuits; being entred into their Society, and was become a Lay Brother of that Order, and consequently judged it Meritorious to extirpate and destroy Heresie, especially being told, 'That it would be a most glorious Action; and that no doubt, he would be Canonized for a Saint, if he could Reduce 3 Kingdoms to their Ancient Obedience, to the Holy See from which they had been so long Apostates; and had Nurst up so many Damned Hereticks, to the Disturbance of Holy Church.'

But the present Lord Lieutenant, being an Obstacle to the Vigorous progress of Popery in Ire-

land, the Jesuits resolved to remove him, of which design, a Person of Honour acquainted the King; who absolutely denied there was any such intention, or that he had any thoughts of it, nor did he believe he ever should ( whilst both lived ) remove him from that Government, though the Papists in Ireland confidently affirmed: That he had before given assurance to Father Peters, that Tyrconnel should be Lord Deputy; and accordingly in 1636, he obtained that Government against all opposition, the News of which so surprized the Protestants in Ireland, that almost all that were able, deserted the Kingdom, and flocked in great numbers to the Isle of Man, Scotland, and other places, so great was their Terror and Consternation at theie dreadful tydings, and the dismal effects which they expected from his Management of Affairs; at length Tyrconnel arrived there, after having been kept a considerable time at the Sea side by contrary winds; which seemed a Signal Act of providence, to give warning and opportunity to the People, to fly from the judgments just ready to fall upon that distressed Kingdom: The Lord Clarendon Surrendered the Sword to him, with an Admirable Speech, concluding, that as he had kept an equal hand of Justice to the Roman Catholicks; so he hoped his Lordship would do to the Protestants: But Popery was the Scene which must be Acted, and the Protestants Trembled at the Terrible Consequences thereof, whilst the Irish Triumpht and insulted over their Dejection, reproaching them both as Englishmen and Protestants, and usually calling them Fanatick Dogs, and Damned Hereticks: Yea, so Barbarous were their Affronts and Indignities that the English were daily afraid of a general Massacre, to be inhumanly put in Execution against them.

Tyrconnel now places Popish Judges and Officers

in all the Courts of Judicature ; and then proceeds against the Charters of all the Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom : He endeavoured to perswade the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of Dublin to Surrender theirs to the King ; but meeting with much Opposition therein, he in a Rage told them, ‘ that this was the continuance of ‘their former Rebellion, having turn'd out all the ‘Loyal Subjects in the laſt War of Ire'land , and ‘would do ſo now, if it were in their power; whereupon they produced a Letter from King Char'es I. Dated at Oxford , containing great acknowledgements of their Signal Loyalty and Faithfulneſs to him, with High Assurances of being Eminently rewarded, if he were again Reflored to his Crown : But this availed nothing ; for the common ſaying of the Irish was, ‘ that K. James would regard no Men ‘for any Service formerly done to him, his Father, ‘or Brother ; but only for future Service that he ‘expected from them. So that though the Citizens of Dublin ſent a Gentleman on purpose to the K. with a Petition, and Representation of their Case, yet he would not regard him ; but upon first ſight askthim, if he had the Lo'd Deputies leave to come with this Petition ; and that he had thofe in Ireland that understood the Law better than himſelf, and ſo turned from him ; and he was forced to go back again *re infecta* : Yet the City of Dublin was refolved not to betray their Liberties ; but employ'd the Council to defend their Charters ; but these Judges who had already broken through all incloſures of Law, and Trampled upon the known Constitutions of the Kingdom, that they were oppofite to their Popish and Arbitrary Designs, over-ruled all their Pleadings, and gave Judgment againſt them, to the universal excesſive Joy of the Irish ; and great Morification of the Protestants. Conſonant to the Sentence

rence against Dublin, was Judgment given against all the Charters of the Kingdom, except those who quietly Surrendred them.

The New Lord Deputy, now chose him a Privy Council, that all but three, had scarce common Sense, of which two of them would often complain, saying, that nothing could pass at the Council-Board of publick concern ; but their Country-men must first ask Teige, ‘ if that would not spoil his Potato Garden ; but however they all agreed to inslaven and beggar their Country, especially in matter of Trade, as appeared by Tyrconnels first Proclamation, with the Advice of his Council, to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the Duty of Iron, and this without asking the King leave ; but as soon as it was heard of in England, a Proclamation came from thence, forbidding this wise A&t made by these Notable Statesmen ; and the Lord Bellasis swore in Council ; ‘ That Fool in Ireland, was Fool and Mad- ‘ man enough to ruine 10 Kingdoms : And Father Peters secretly Reprimanded him for his Political Blunder ; and writ to him, if he acted not with greater Caution, the King could not possibly preserve him in that Government. This with the vast numbers of People that Deserted the Kingdom upon Tyrconnels coming Lord Deputy thither, whereby the Towns and Cities were made almost Desolate, and Traffick so ruined, that the publick Revenue was sunk incredibly from the former value, were so strongly pressed against him at the English Privy Council to his Disadvantage, that he obtained the Favour of K. James, to meet and confer with him at Chester, carrying along with him Judge Rice for his Councillor, and a Subtle Fellow, who told the King so many fine Stories, there being none to contradict him, that he was dismift, contrary to the hopes and expectations of many who thought he

he would never have returned again. Deputy. When he took leave of several Privy Counsellors and Officers, at his going to wait on King James at Chester, Aug. 1687. He said, *I have put the Sword in your Hands:* And then in his usual Style, prayed God to damn them all, if ever they parted with it again.

During Tyrconnels stay here, the New Judges went their Circuits, wherein they discovered the most gross partiality imaginable; for though they found the Jayls full of Tories and Irish Robbers committed for several Notorious Crimes, yet with the Assistance of Irish Sheriffs and Juries, they were most of them Discharged, without punishment, either being indicted by wrong Names, or else by taking off the Prosecutors with Threats; That if they proceeded, their Cattel would be stoln, their Houses burnt, or their Throats Cut, which often happened: And this was done in pursuance of one of the Lord Deputies Instructions from Court to them; that they should by all possible means weaken the Protestant Interest, which they so effectually performed, that no Englishman was secure of any thing he had, by their Exorbitant proceedings against them: So that had these Barbarous Injustices, and publick Oppressions and Violences in the several Law-Courts (even such as never were till then heard of among Christians) continued but a few years longer, these without other means, might have wholly Reduced the Kingdom into Irish Hands; it being observed, that never one Cause came before them upon a Tryal for Land; but the Judgment was constantly given in favour of the Irish.

As to the Army in Ireland, of which I have mentioned something before, I shall add, that when King James came to the Crown, they consisted in about 7000 Men as cordial to his Interest as possible, both Officers

Officers and Souldiers Respecting him as their Master and Father ; and shewed a great forwardness to have assisted him against Monmoth and Arquile : Yet he was no sooner settled in the Throne ; but he began to turn the most zealous of them out of his Service ; because he could not expect they would be useful to him in destroying the Protestant Religion and Liberties of the Subjects, which was the Service he expected from them ; and therefore took their Troops away, and gave them to persons of mean or broken Fortunes, and some of them unqualified by Law, and no consideration was had to Loyalty or Merit, unless a Man were a Papist ; of which there were too many Notorious Instances : And the manner of their being Discarded, was with so much falsehood and Barbarity from Tyrconnel, as might have shaken the Obedience of any Army but this in the World ; and caused them to have dispatch so false a Wretch, for in the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with his usual Oaths, Curses and Damnations, would profess the greatest kindness and friendship, assuring them of the Continuance of their Commissions ; and in the Afternoon, would Cashier them with all manner of Scorn and Contempt ; nay, while he was Carelessing them, he had actually given away their Commands. As for the Soldiers and Troops, he Marched them to some place so far distant from their Quarters, that they were not much known ; and there after great Hardships, stript the Foot of their Cloaths, which they had payed for, and the Troopers of their Horses, Boots and Furniture bought with their own Money ; and turned them off to walk Barefoot some 100, others 150 Miles to their Houses and Homes : And though they were promised something for their Horses, yet their Attendance cost them twice as much as they expected, and most

most of them after all, got nothing; By this means 2 or 300 Protestant Gentlemen, who had laid out great part of their Fortunes, and Contracted Debts to obtain Commissions, were not left worth any thing; but were turned out without reason, or any consideration, and 5 or 6000 Soldiers sent a begging; an Hardship perhaps, never put upon an Army before, for no other reason; but because they were English Men and Protestants; and Irish men and Papists were by K. James put in their places, clearly Demonstrating, that he had no regard to the Laws, or the Preservation of that Kingdom; and that he absolutely designed to Ruin the Protestant, and Advance the Popish Interest in Ireland: And the same Fate attended all the Protestant Civil Officers, several of them being ousted, though they had places by Patent for Life, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Officers of the Revenue, &c. who were all changed for Roman Catholicks, and this before the News of the Glorious Expedition of his now Majesty, the Prince of Orange, and without any provocation, or the least pretence of Disloyalty.

Dec. 9. 1687. Being Sunday, in the Morning, happened such an Inundation of Water at Dublin, as was never known before, carrying away Stone-Bridges, overflowing Houses, for 3 Days together, so that a great part of the City was much indamaged thereby to their great Detriment and los's, and was the more remarkable; because no great Rain, only a few small Showres had fallen the night before; which seemed to presage the deluge of Troubles, that were impending over the poor English in that distressed Kingdom.

The Earl of Castlemain being returned to England, from his Embassy to the Pope, and having received no Preferment, complained to the Pope, who writ to his Nuncio to Address the King in his behalf;

behalf ; and being seconded by Father Peters, it was resolved in the Cabinet Council, Dec. 23. that Jefferies the Lord Chancellor, for tampering in the business of Magdalen Colledge, should be put out, and 3 of the Lords of the Treasury, be made Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and that Castlemain should be Lord Treasurer, Peters roundly telling the King, ‘ that the most effectual means for accomplishing his Design of Establishing the Catholick Religion, was to let his Prime Ministers, and the World understand , That no Service they had or could do should protect them, or be reckoned of any account, if they boggled in the least Tittle or Circumstance relating to the Catholick Cause.

But still the Furious Jesuits and their Accomplices were very much unsatisfied, that notwithstanding they had a Catholick King upon the Throne, yet the Popish Religion made but small progress, and there was but a mean harvest of Converts to the Roman Faith ; Nay, not in Ireland, where all the power both Civil and Military, was in their Hands ; hereupon a Project is contrived to destroy the Act of Settlement there in hopes the Protestants would Rebel, and Forfeit their Estates , whereby they should have an opportunity totally to extirpate them out of that Kingdom ; and so be in a capacity in a short time, to subdue England and Scotland likewise : In Order hereto the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, Lord Chief Baron Rice and Neagle, drew up the Form of an Act, which in the nature of it, gave the whole Lands of Ireland into the Hands of the King, and though the Catholicks were to have but half their Estates, yet the other part was under such qualifications, as the King might dispose of them to those who were most Obedient and Useful to him : This was brought over by these 3, who were called the Irish Ambassadors, and at length

length approved of by Father Peters, and presented to the King with strong Assurances ; that if he would but call a Parliament there, they could have whom they pleased elected, all Corporations being already put into Popish hands, and all the Sheriffs of Counties, Papists ; who would be sure to make returns as they thought fit.

King James who was become a Vassal to the French King, durst not refuse their Proposals, for fear of disobliging him ; and having (as he constantly did) debated it in the Cabinet Council ; it was resolved to be brought into the Privy Council, which the King did accordingly ; and being read, the Lord Bellasis passionately inveighed against it, saying ; ‘That if such Designs as these were incouraged, the Catholicks of England had best in time look out for another Country, and not stay to be a mad Sacrifice for Irish Rebels ; others seconded it, and none durst offer any thing in behalf of it ; afterwards the 3 Irish Ambassadors had Audience at the Council, where Rice spoke in the behalf of the rest ; but the Lords Bellasis and Pours called him Fool and Knave, even in the Kings presence : Bellasis bidding them make haft to the Fool their Master, ‘and bid him next Message he sent, to employ Wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand ; and every one fell so violently upon them, that they killed the Kings Hand and departed, he himself not speaking a word ; but instantly breaking up the Council : And the noise of their Business being known abroad, the Boys in the Streets run after the Coach, where Rice and Nugent at any time were with Potatoes stuck in sticks, crying out, make way for the Irish Ambassadors.

In 1688. The Joyful News of the Birth of the supposed Prince of Wales arrived there, about the same time with that of the Imprisoning the Bishop-

in the Tower, which filled them with such exaltations, that they could hardly bear it, Glorying, 'They had now a Prince, who would become a Patron to Holy Church, and perpetuate the Catholick Religion to all posterity, by the utter extirpation of Heresie: It is remarkable, that as soon as ever it was publickly declared the Queen was with Child, the Irish throughout the Nation, were so confident that it would be a Son, that they offered to lay 20 Guinies to one of it; which the English were very sensible they would never have ventured, had they not been acquainted with the Mystery of it. And now they express their Rejoycing with Bonfires, Bagpipes, Drinking and Revelling for several Nights together, forcing the English to come out of their Beds, and to drink the King and Princes good Health, with Confusion to their Enemies upon their Knees; which they well understood were the Protestants: and such as would not comply, were called Fanatick Oliverian Dogs, and they hardly refrain'd from Murthering them; and the Officers of Christ-Church, were committed to the Stocks; because Tyrconnel fancyed that the Bells did not Ring merrily enough on that occasion.

But the Scripture says; *The Joy of the Wicked is short*, and so theirs proved; for a while after a Ship came from Amsterdam to Dublin, with Letters from a Friend of Tyrconnels, to acquaint him, that he did imagine the Prince of Orange had a Design against England, since none in Holland could guess what else the great and hasty preparations made there should mean; Tyrconnel sent this Letter to the Secretary of State, who shewed it the King; but they made no other use of it, than to Scorn and Redicule his Intelligence, as the Secretary did in a Letter sent back to him: But fresh Suspicions daily arose, and the matter seemed still more probable;

bable; whereupon the huffing Irish, called the English Rebels, saying; they were sure they would joyn with the Prince, and as certain that they would be beaten, and be served the same saunce as Monmoth was; and Bloodyly and Maliciously exprest themselves against the Prince, whose Head they threatned to stick on a Pole, and carry it round the Kingdom; and after K. James Proclamation came to them, L. C. Justice Nugent that Confident Ignorant Irishman in his Charge to the Jury among other Vilifying Reproaches upon the P. of Orange, Audaciously and Impudently added; 'that now the States of Holland were weary of their Prince, they had sent him over to be drest as Monmouth was; but that was too good for him, and that he doubted not before a Month passed, to hear that they were hung up all over England in Bunches, like Ropes of Onions.

At this time of his present Majesties Descent into England, the Popish Army in Ireland were about 8000, whereof near half were sent into England to assist K. James, and the other were dispersed up and down the Kingdom; being but an handful in comparison of the Protestants, who had Arms enough in Dublin alone, to have Mastered them; and it was proposed by some, (when they heard the King had sent Commissioners to Treat with his Highness the Prince of Orange) to Seize the Castle of Dublin with the Stores and Ammunition which had been very Feasible by securing Tyrconnel, who had only 600 Men to guard him; and they by the continual Expresses from England, of the wonderful Progress of the Princes Forces, were so generally Discouraged, that they declared themselves desirous to lay down their Arms, proposing to themselves, only to remain in the same condition they were in K. Charles II. time, and Tyrconnel himself commanded

manded the Protestants to signify the same to their Friends in England, that he was willing to part with the Sword upon those Terms, with K. James his leave; For though he received the first News of the Princes Landing with the greatest Disdain and Contempt, Boasting, that he was able to raise an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, on a Months notice, and gave Commissions to every one that would accept of them, yet the additional Accounts of his Highnesses daily Success raised such a Conternation in him, that by all his Actions, it did sufficiently appear he had no thoughts of standing out, and all his Discourses expressed his Disordered and ill Apprehension of the present Tendency of Affairs; which was much increased by the dreadful Alarm that the Protestants had from a Letter sent to the Earl of Mount Alexander, giving him an account of an Horrible Massacre designed upon the Protestants on December 9. being Sunday; the Letter came to Dublin the Friday before, and the News thereof so Terrified the Protestants, that the next Day above 3000 got away into the Ships that were in the Harbor at that time; which were so cramm'd, that they were ready to be stifted, Deserting their Houses, and all that ever they had in the World, and running to the Ships with scarce Cloaths on their Backs, and went to the Isle of Man in England, or the North of Ireland; such strange Confusions and Distractions did the Dread of the Barbarous and cruel usage which they feared from the Irish produce, many of them having been eye-witnesses of the Horrid Murders and Ravages committed by them in 1641.

Tyrconnel having notice of this sudden Hurry, on Sunday Morning sent two Protestant Lords to perswade the People not to go away, and ordered a Yatch to fetch back them that were gone; but both proved

proved ineffectual: He then sent to some of the Principal Protestants in Dublin, assuring them with many Oaths and Protestations; that he had an utter Abhorrence of any such Design as Massacrинг the Protestants, and beg'd them to perswade their Friends not to remove: The dreadful Tydings Arrived at other places in Ireland, that very Sunday Morning, while the People were at Church, and struck them with such Horror and Amazement, for fear of present Destruction, that many for hast got out of the Windows, others were ready to be squeezed to Death at the Doors, many left their Hats and Periwigs behind them; yea, the Cloaths on their Backs were torn to pieces in the Crowd, others were trampled under Foot, and the Women in worse condition then the Men: Nay, for several Sundays after the Protestants carried Arms with them to Church, the Minister himself being Armed while Preaching; whether the Design was real or no, or whether this Discovery prevented it, is not known; but certainly the dread of it produced the greatest Horror, Grief and Despair that Humane Nature could be capable of.

In this Consternation things continued till January, when advice coming of K. James his flying to France, the Irish Lords moved Tyrconnel to deliver up the Sword, which many thought he would have been easily perswaded to, since at the beginning of the Alarm, it was believed that he would be the first Man in the Government, who would endeavour his escaping, having already packt up most of his Goods of Value, and shipt some of his Treasure: His whole Council were of the Opinion that he should surrender, and he finding himself so very weak, and so much in the power of the Protestants, protested to them with the deepest Oaths and Curles, according to his usual Acts of Dissimu-

Dissimulation, Falshood and Flattery; ' That he  
would be rid of the Government very willingly,  
so as it might be with Honour; that it was easy for  
him to ruine and destroy the Kingdom; and make  
it not worth a Groat, but impossible to preserve it  
for his Master: At another time he told them;  
that he could not deliver the Sword with Honour,  
till it was demanded; and askt them, whether  
they would have him throw it over the Castle  
Wall; for there was none to take it: Some ima-  
gined that he intended in earnest, to have parted  
with it, especially if it had been demanded before  
K. James went into France; having likewise before  
procured Letters to be sent to England, to excuse  
the Male Administrations in the Government;  
and that it was the Opinion of all the Catholicks,  
that the Kingdom would be ruined and themselves  
also, if they yielded not to the Prince of Orange;  
that they would be contented to be reduced to the  
same State they were in, when King James came  
to the Crown &c.

But after all, the generality of the Protestants were  
of Opinion, that he meant nothing less, only de-  
signed to gain time, and delude them till he had  
got a kind of an Army together to master them;  
and they were confirmed therein by his Secret giv-  
ing out 500 Commissions of one sort and another,  
in a Day: The Irish likewise assembled in great Bo-  
dies, and were called Rapparees, Armed with  
Skeins and Half-Pikes, killing the Cattle of the  
English, and stealing an 100 or 2 at once in a Night,  
so that many Substantial Protestants, who owned  
several Hundreds of black Cattel and Sheep, &c.  
had not one left; and for 40 Miles together in the  
Province of Munster, the Irish Cabbins were full of  
Beef, stoln from the English; which they did not  
so much as bestow salt upon, but hung it up in the  
Sinoak

Smoak, so that it lookt and stunk as bad as Carrion ; It was affirmed, that in 9 Days, the Irish stole eleven thousand Cattel in that one Province, and at length to compleat the miseries of the Protestants, they Robbed and Pillaged their Houses, so that those who had lived in great Hospitality and Plenty, now wanted Bread to eat, and had nothing left to preserve them from Starving.

All this while the New Levies were Mustering every Day, the Priests putting off their Wolves Cloathing ; and with their Swords and Periwigs turn'd Commanders, and Exercised the Irish Soldiers : All the Scum and Rascality of the Country, were made Officers, every where Papists initited themselves, and the Priests suffered no Man to come to that did not Arm himself with a Skeine and Pike; the better Sort of their Captains and ii. or Officers, had been Foot-men or Servants to Protestants, most of them Sons or Descendants of the Rebels in 1641. who had Murthered so many Protestants ; many were Outlawed and Condemned Persons for Torying and Robbing, no less then 14 Notorious Tories were Officers in Cormuck O Neals Regiment : And these New Commissioned Officers were obliged without pay, to subsist their Men (as they called it) being between 40 and 5000 for three Months, a thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves ; which gave mortal apprehensions to the Protestants, who had reason to fear the Destruction that immediately fell on them, when they saw their Enemies in Arms, and their own Lives and Goods in the power, and at the Mercy of those Thieves, Robbers and Tories, now Armed and Authorized, from whom they could scarce secure themselves, when it was in their power to pursue and hang them : And this was acknowledged by one

one of their own Justices, who in his Charge at the Quarter-Sessions, declared, ' That among other Conveniences which they received from this Government, one was, ' That it had rid them of ' Tories, for all these were taken into the Kings Army.

Tyrconnel and his Council were still in amaze and Confusion, and all unanimous to submit, except Nugent and Rice; but on a sudden, they came to a Conclusion, that might quiet the Irish Lords, who were for Submission to the Prince and Government of England; and the Project was, That the Lord Montjoy a Protestant, and the Lord Chief Baron Rice, shou'd be sent over to the late King in France to Represent to him; 'The inability of their holding out against England, the necessity to yield to the time, and make best Terms they could, till a better Opportunity presented to serve himself of his Irish Subjects: This was a Jesuitical Stratagem, contrived by Rice and Neagle, as one of them afterward boasted, carried on without the privity of any but the Lord Deputy and themselves; and every Body told the Lord Montjoy, that it was all Sham and Trick, only to amuse the Protestants, and remove him out of the way, who was most likely to Head them: Yet the Lord Tyrconnel Swore most Solemnly, ' that he was in earnest in this Message, and ' that he knew the French Court would oppose it ' to the utmost, who regarded only their own interest, and did not care if Ireland were sunk into ' the Pit of Hell, so they could give the Prince of ' Orange a Diversion but for 3 Months; but ( said ' he ) if the King be perswaded to Ruin his fastest ' Friends, only to gratifie France, and do himself no Service; he is neither so Merciful nor Wise, as I believe him to be: If he recover England, Ire-

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'land will fall in course ; but he can never expect  
'to conquer England by Ireland : If he Attempts it,  
'he ruins Ireland to do himself no kindness ; but  
'rather to exasperate England the more against him,  
'and make his Restoration impossible ; intimating,  
'that if the King would not do it, he would look  
'on his refusal to be forced on him by those in whose  
'power he was, and that he should think himself  
'obliged to do it without his consent : The Lord  
Montjoy alledged, That his going into France,  
could not influence the Councils in England, who  
could reduce the Kingdom without his Assistance,  
and that he must either obey the Deputy, or De-  
clare War against him and K. James's interest,  
which he did not think safe, since he had no Order  
nor Encouragement from England ; but on the  
contrary, all the Advice he had from thence was,  
to be quiet, and not to meddle ; that he was obli-  
ged to K. James, and neither his Conscience nor  
Gratitude, would permit him in his present Cir-  
cumstances, to make War on his own Authority  
against him, whilst there was any possibility of do-  
ing the business peaceably : Upon these Motives,  
L. Montjoy proceeds in this Negotiation, and took  
Shipping with Rice at Waterford in Jan. 1688.  
Tyrconnel having first granted these General Con-  
cessions to the Protestants.-1. That no more Com-  
missions should be given out, nor new Men raised.  
2. That no more of the Army should be sent to  
the North. 3. That none should be questioned for  
what was past. 4. That no private House should be  
obliged to quarter Souldiers : These he sent about  
the Kingdom by Letters ; yet the Lord Montjoy was  
no sooner gone, but according to his usual Falshood,  
he denied all, and was angry at the Dispersing the  
Letters : Soon after came News, that the Lord  
Montjoy was made a Prisoner in the Bastile in  
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France; which more Exasperated the Protestants against K. James as a Violator of Publick Faith to his Subjects, and likewise ruined the little Reputation that his Lord Deputy had among the n.

Soon after a French Engineer Landed at Cork, and came with all Expedition to Dublia, assuring Tyrconnel that K. James would be suddenly with him; and that nothing was to be feared from England, till the end of the Summer, upon this, the face of things quickly altered, and the little hopes that had hitherto supported the English, now utterly vanished, so that there appeared a necessity of associating together, and getting into the Castles and best places of strength they had, for the Defence and Preservation of their Lives; some Protestants had a while before, put themselves into a posture of Defence in the North, &c. but Proclamations were issued out by the Council, (signed by several Protestants) commanding them to go to their respective homes under the penalty of being proceeded against as Traytors, which proved fatal to the English, they judging thereby the danger was not so great as they imagined. But at length matters were reduced to such extremity, that no course remained to preserve the Protestants; but of making their escape: for though the Lord Kingstone, Sir Arthur Royden and others, endeavoured to have secured several places; yet matters were managed so indiscreetly, that all proved ineffectual, and their inconsiderable Forces were soon Defeated: After which, Tyrconnel Disarmed all the Protestants throughout the Kingdom in one Day; In the Cities and Towns they shut up the Gates, and none were suffered to pass in or out, without being strictly searcht for Arms, under pretence of which, they so came into the English Houses, and often Seiz'd their Plate and Mony, or what else they could meet

meet with in this Confusion, which lasted several days, during which, most of the Horses which belonged to English Gentlemen and Farmers, was seized in the Country, for the Kings use ; which were brought into the Towns, where the Soldiers were quartered in so great numbers, in private, as well as publick Houses, that the English had scarce Beds to lye on.

About this time, Collonel Hamilton is sent with an Army to the North of Ireland, and though more early in the year than usual, yet the Judges were sent into the Country, on pretence to punish the Thieves and Robbers that plundered the Protestants ; but the Design was to Condemn those poor Protestants, that had taken up Arms and Defended their Houses against them, and likewise to raise Mony for the Army, their being very little in the Exchequer ; And the Judges read a Letter in every County, directed from the Government to the principal Gentlemen, and to the Minister and Popish Priest of every Parish, requiring them to Summon their Parishioners together, and perswade them to Subscribe to the utmost of their Ability, for the Subfiance of the Kings Forces, assuring them, that he would be soon at the Head of them with a considerable Assistance from France ; and that they who had no Mony, should send in Meal, Malt, Beef, Cheese, Butter, Herrings, or else Leather Brogs, Stockins, Wool-Cloth, Linnen or any other Goods the Country afforded : This was a great Oppression to the Protestants, who though they had but very little left by the Rabble ; yet must Contribute largely, or else were reckoned well-wishers to the Kings Enemies.

The Lord Galmoy was likewise sent with Forces to Guard the passages between the North of Ireland, and those parts of Munster and Connaught that

that adjoyned to Ulster, to prevent the South and Western Protestants from joyning , who being a Malicious and Bloody Papist first drew Blood there, causing two Gentlemen who had taken Arms for their own Defence under Collonel Sandafon, to be Hanged on a Sign-post at Belniot, and their Heads being cut off, were kickt about the Streets by his Soldiers like Foot-balls; at Ornagh he took 2 others upon the same pretence, and caused the Son first to Hang his Father , and carry his Head on a pole through the Streets, crying, this is the Head of a Traytor ; and then the young Man himself was Hanged : It was also Reported, that some of his Dragoons meeting with a Clergymans Wife, whose Husband had fled Northward, several of them one after another Ravished her, and then ript up her Belly, and exposed her with a dead Man upon her : At Tipperary, an English Gentleman seeing some Dragoons marching towards his House, shut up his Doors, (it being late in the Evening ) as if they were gone to Bed ; but 16 of them coming thither, and not being quickly admitted, they forced open his Doors, calling him Traytor for shutting them against the Kings Forces ; and having pillaged all things of value, they then deflowered his Daughter, and only Child before his Face ; all 16 lay with her, and 3 of them ( as was affirmed by his Family ) after she was actually dead . These were the beginnings of the Villainies which the Protestants suffered from these execrable Wretches.

While things were in this posture, K. James was hourly expected by the Irish, and almost every Post a false Alarm is given that he was Landed, Bonfires being made, and Guns Discharged in the several Garrisons ; and that so often, that not only Protestants, but also many Papists thought it to be but a sham of Tyrconnels, to Discourage the Protestants,

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and obtain better Terms from them : But at length March 12. 1689. he Landed at Kingsale, at which the Protestants and some Papists, seemed not very well satisfied, nay the first were so indifferent, that for a Fortnight after he Arrived, they would not believe it ; because they imagined he had no great kindness for them, however they thought he would have made their condition more easie for the present, and spoke them fair, considering that the Irish depended upon many Friends which they boasted they had in Scotland and England : But K. James soon let the World know he was not fond of such Dependencies ; for coming to Cork, where he was received by the Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, the Recorder in a long Speech, magnified the Irish Loyalty and Valour, saying ; ‘ That he now hoped His Majesty was convinced of their Fidelity, and that they were better Subjects than the Church of England Men ; to this part of the Speech, the K. Replyed, ‘ That he acknowledged all the Recorder had said to be true ; and that he hoped by their Forces and the Assistance he should receive from his Brother of France, to be restored to his Throne in spight of those Slaves of the Church of England ; at this very time the Judges held the Assizes there, and one Brown a Gentleman of about 500 pound a year, who had been in Arms against the Rapparees ; being there a Prisoner, he put himself on his Tryal, and Petitioned K. James, thinking that he would begin with an A<sup>t</sup> of Mercy, and give him his Life ; but on the contrary, he left him to the Law, whereby he was sure to be Condemned, and accordingly was Hanged and Quartered ; from hence K. James took his Journey to Dublin, where he was received with all Demonstrations of Joy imaginable by Tyrconnel and the Popish Party, who lookt upon him as their only support,

Support, Champion and Deliverer : He was no sooner Arrived, but the Irish discovered what his future Designs were in their common talk at publick Houses, declaring openly, ' That the King would have such a Powerful Army of French, Irish and Scots Roman-Catholicks, as should force the English into Obedience : That he did not think of returning into England by the means of any Protestant Friends ; but by a French power : So that when he came to his Throne, he might Rule as he thought fit ; that the Protestants of Ireland, might feed themselves with what hopes they pleased ; but they should quickly find the K. would neither value nor regard them. That the K. had a long time Caressed the Damn'd Church of England ( as they called it ) and that he could do no good with them ; but now he would do his Business without them, and so find an opportunity of shaking them quite off ; that they did not doubt but to be in the midst of England by Midsummer, and make that the Seat of War, thereby preserving their own Country, Estates, and Tenants, and living on the Churls, ( as they called the English,) who they said were Rich, and a giddy inconstant People, not being satisfied with any kind of Government, and would, they doubted not, be soon divided, and broken among themselves, so that they did not fear carrying their Point.

King James himself by his Discourses and Actions, soon confirmed the same ; For he had but Considerable Protestants in his Army, Sir Thomas Newcomer and Collonel Russell, these he immediately Disbanded, without any other Objection but their Religion ; and declared to Collonel Sarsfield, who desired Commissions for 2 of his Protestant Relations, and offered to be bound for their Fidelity, That he would Trust no Protestants ; and was heard

to say as he came out of his Chappel, upon occasion of some of his Courtiers Discourfing about Protestants, *That a Protestant Stunk in his Nostrils:* And as his words, so his Deeds discovered his Abhorrence of them; for he had not been long in Dublin, when the Wife of one Maxwell, (who was Condemned for betaking himself with some others, to a strong House in Queens County for the Security of their Lives) presented a Petition to the King to pardon her Husband; This poor Woman had by her piteous intreaties, prevailed with the High Sheriff to reprieve him for 15 Days, that she might use her interest to fave him, though against the command of the Bloody Lord Gilmoy, who ordered him to be presently executed; she accordingly went to Dublin, hoping that the King might be perswaded to do one Act of Grace, being just come to the City, and the High Sheriff went with her, and promised her Admittance to the Presence; where she appeared in the most lamentable condition that was possible to excite Compassion, having four or five small Children hanging about her all in Tears, and delivered her Petition, praying his Majesty to pardon, or at least to Reprieve her poor Husband for some time; which she delivered in such melting Terms as moved the very Irish Nobility then present, to second her Request; and might have Mollified the hardest Heart in the World; but the Answer she had from King James was, *Woman your Husband shall dye;* and the High Sheriff was severely Reprimanded, for not executing him according to his Warrant; and Threatned, that if the Prisoner escaped, he should dye for him; and was commanded to hang him immediately, which was done accordingly: There are several other instances of this kind, and it may easily be imagined, how great an Incouragement this kind of Behaviour in

a Prince was to the rude Soldiers to Treat the poor Protestants, not only in the Country, but even in Dublin, under the very eye of the Government, in a Barbarous manner : It was ordinary with them to take the meat that the poor people had provided for their Families, without thanks or payment ; nor could a Protestant be abroad after Sunset, without danger of his Life. One Power Bred a Protestant, but turned Papist in K. James time, coming to his House one Evening, was set upon by two Soldiers demanding his Money, and calling him Heretick Dog, he thought to have excused himself, and made some Opposition ; but was shot through the Body with a Pistol, and fell Dead, as well as unpityed at his own Door : about the same time, a Gentleman walking in a Bowling Green in Dublin, was Stabbed by some Soldiers ; and a poor Tapster of an Ale-house standing one Day at the Door on the Wood-key, was by some Dragoons thrown into the water and drowned, and no notice taken of it ; but only as a Jest : So that considering how the K. and Government did connive at things of this Nature, and that all the Irish bear so implacable an Hatred to the English, and are a people of much Cruelty and forwardness to shed Blood, when they have an Advantage ; and which, to be sure, was not lessened by their being managed by French Men : I say, considering all these Circumstances, it may seem very wonderful, that they did not attempt a General Massacre, all the time before the English Forces Arrived there ; but it must be Attributed only to the Divine providence (which restrains even the Devils) that prevented these Blood-Hounds, from Destroying the poor Protestants, at whom they stood grinning, and wanted only the word to cut their Throats, as they and their Predecessors did in 1641.

K. James before his Arrival in Ireland, had Re-

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solved immediately to call a Popish Parliament there, to destroy the Act of Settlement, and restore the Irish Rebels to their Estates; which he was so impatient in, that he issued out Writs for them to sit May 7. 1689. at Dublin, though it seem'd directly against his Interest at this time; and many of his own Party redicul'd him and his Councils, to call a Parliament to spend their time in wrangling about settling the Kingdom, and disposing Estates before it was reduced to the Kings Obedience: But hereby it pleased God to infatuate them; for had they applyed themselves to the Seige of London-Derry, it is to be feared, that Town and others in the North, had been taken before the Succors came, and then all Ireland had been their own; which might have been of very fatal Consequence.

For the Protestants upon the Orders that were issued through all parts of the Kingdom, to take away their Arms and Serviceable Horses, concluded that an English Army was either Landed in some part of the Kingdom, or that the Government expected one; which so encouraged the Protestants, that in many places they betook themselves into Castles and strong Holds, thinking that if they could defend themselves from flying Parties and the Rabble, the Irish Army would be so employ'd by the Forces of England, that there could be no formal Seiges laid against them; and they should secure themselves with their Horses and Arms, till they might find an opportunity of joyning with the English Army: But these poor Men soon after found their mistake, and thereupon were forced to Surrender upon tolerable Conditions, had they been observed: but the Irish instead of performing them, sent them to Jayl. Tryed and Executed several for High Treason, and kept others in miserable Captivity and Slavery.

This vile Treachery and Severe Usage, incouraged the Protestants in the North, who were possest of London-Derry, Inniskilling, and some other places to defend themselves against the utmost Efforts of the Enemy : For Tyrconnel, as we have heard, having Armed a Rabble of 40 or 50 Thousand Irish Papists, to live upon the Country without pay, from whence ensued miserable Depredations, open and Noon-day Robberies, and an inevitable and sudden Ruine of the Brittish and Protestant interest in Ireland ; The Protestants of the North, thought themselves no longer under obligation to be Active in their own Destruction ; but took up Arms in Defence of their Laws, against those who Acted in Contradiction to all Laws ; and from whom they had reason to fear all kind of Cruelty and Barbarity :

It hapned that the L. Tyrconnell, having Orders to Transport 3 or 4000 of his Irish Souldiers to England to Assist K. James, he took a particular care to send away the whole Regiment, quartered in and about London-Derry ; but soon saw his Error, and endeavoured to repair it, by Commanding the Earl of Antrim to quarter there with his Regiment, who appeared before the Town without the Kings Liv-ry, or any Officers of Note, or the least warning of their coming ; and having no other Arms but Skeans, Clubs, and such other Weapons as Reams and Toriesuses, and this happening about the very time that the Protestants were Alarm'd with the Letter sent to the Lord Mount Alexander, concerning a designed Massacre, the People of the Town were so Affrighted, that they refused them Entrance into the City, and consulted their own safety, concluding to shut their Gates : One of the Companies were already in view of the Town, and two of the Officers in it ; but the younger sort got toge-  
ther

ther, and with their Swords drawn ran to the main Guards ; Seized the Key, drew up the Bridge, and lockt the Ferry-Gate, though the Irish Soldiers were advanced within 60 yards of it ; from thence they went to secure the other 3 Gates, and having placed Guards at each of them, met in the Market. So happily did these Resolute Youths Nick the very Minute of their Design, and upon such a seemingly Rash and Desperate Action, did the preservation of that important place, and consequently in some measure, the whole Kingdom, out of the Hands of the Irish depend.

The Alarum of the Designed Massacre, and Tyroneals Arming such a Numerous Swarm of Irish Highlanders, had the like effect upon the Protestants of Inniskilling ; and knowing this was the only place of Consequence upon Lough Earne, which had held out with Remarkable Courage against the Irish Rebels in 1641. and which if they were now possest of, would give them an open Passage from Connaught to Ulster, they therefore resolve not to admit the 2 Companies of Irish Papists, which were ordered thither to quarter in the Town ; but instantly dispatcht Letters to all the Protestant Gentlemen thereabout, for their Advice and Assistance in that juncture ; not judging themselves able to keep out the 2 Foot Companies , they being but 80 Dwellers in all, and few or no Arms amongst them ; The Messengers returned with very little Incouragement, most of the English dissuading them from the Enterprize as dangerous , the Irish being well provided of Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions, whereas they had not 10 pound of pouder, nor 20 well fixed Fire Arms in the Town : But the Resolution of the People, Surmounted all these Difficulties, resolving to run all Hazards, rather than expose their Lives to the Mercy of their Barbarous

rous and Bloody principled Enemies: The Irish Army approaching them within 18 Miles, they made fresh Instances to their Neighbours to come to their Aid, promising that whilst they staid with them, they should have free quarter for Man and Horse; whereupon several Protestants came into the Town, with their best Horses and Arms, promising to stand by them in Defence of their Lives, and the Protestant Religion; which they did believe by the Preparations they heard were making by the Enemy, would be very soon invaded; and the News they heard from London Derry, did much Fortifie their Courage: So that upon the Approach of the Irish Companies, the Inniskillin Horse and Foot Advanced toward them; but came no sooner in View, ere the 2 Companies with the whole Rabble that was with them, turned their Backs and fled, without halting, in very great Fear and Disorder; and their Officers being then at Dinner at a Gentlemans House not far from thence, hearing the Inniskillin Men were come out, left their Dinners before they had half done, and ran away after them, and all of them got the next Day 24 Miles off, in great Terror of the Inniskilliners, who afterward performed many admirable Actions against the Irish.

King James's pretended Parliament sat in Dublin, from May 7. 1689. to July 20. following, and in that short time, entirely destroyed the Settlement of Ireland, and outed both the Protestant Clergy and Laity of their Free-Holds and Inheritances, by Repealing the 2 Acts of Settlement: 'Whereby 2 thirds of the Protestants of the Kingdom held their Estates: And the Real Estates of all that dwelt or staid in any place in the 3 Kingdoms, who did not own K. James's Power, or corresponded with any such, as they Term'd Rebels, or were any ways

'ways Aiding, Abetting, or Assisting to them from Aug 1. 1688 are declared to be forfeited and vested in the King : By which Clause, almost every Protestant that could write in the Kingdom, had forfeited his Estate ; for the Pacquets went constantly from London to Dublin, and back again, from August 1688. to March following, and few had Friends in England or the North ; but Corresponded with them by Letters ; and every such Letter is made by this Clause, a Forfeiture of Estate. They likewise passed an Act of Attainder, whereby above 3000 Protestants were Attained, and their Estates forfeited to the King, some for being in Arms ; but the greatest part for absenting themselves, and going out of the Kingdom.

These proceedings were thought very severe by the Protestants, since those that Armed themselves, did not Attempt any thing even against those whom the Lord Deputy, against the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Interest of the Nation, had intrusted with Arms and Employments, except in their own Defence, when Invaded and Assaulted by them : Neither was there one Act of Hostility committed, wherein the Protestants were not on the Defensive : Their Crime then if any, was only that they were unwilling to be Robb'd, and Plundered, as their Neighbours were without opposition ; but Disarmed some of those who under Colour of being King James's Soldiers, destroyed the Country ; this was all the Reason : Tyrconnel had to proclaim them Rebels, for Killing and Murdering his Majesties Subjects, and with pillaging the Country ; whereas it was Notorious, they never kill'd any but whom they found actually Robbing, for killing of whom the Laws of the Kingdom not only indemnified them ; but likewise assigned them a Reward, and it is as plain, that the Protestants preserved the Country

from being pillaged ; and for this they now forfeited their Estates : As for those that were absent, it would have been unwisely done for the Protestants that were gone to England, to have returned again to a Ruinous Kingdom, the Actual Seat of War, where all the goods they had left behind, were Imbezeled by Robbers ; and their Estates given to those Sons of Rebellion in 1641. And when Men of the best Estates in Ireland, witht themselves away ; and many were content to leave all, and venture their Lives in little Boats, to the Mercy of the Seas in the death of Winter, reckoning any thing safer and easier, than to lay under a Government which had effectually destroy'd all the measures of Right and Wrong ; and Condemned so many Gentlemen to the loss of all, without allowing them the favour either of being Tryed or Heard : And of those that staid many of them were kill'd by the Soldiers, Murthered in their Houses, Executed by Martial Law, starved and famished in Jayis, and destroyed by many other Violences, the Papists declaring, ‘ That they ‘ designed to starve one half of the Protestants, and ‘ hang the other, and that it would never be well till ‘ this was done : So that all King James’s proceedings in that Kingdom, clearly manifested his design to be the absolute enslaving it to Arbitrary Power and Popery, by his Invading the Liberties and Estates, and exposing their Lives to his peremptory Will and Pleasure. This the Protestants in the North, as well as others, were very sensible of ; and therefore the People of London-Derry, resolved to hold out to the last Extremity.

Some time before the English Navy being out at Sea, to prevent Supplies from France , Admiral Herbert with his Squadron, had notice by his Scent-Ships, that part of the French Fleet were abroad, and stood for the Irish Coast : whereupon he Sail'd after

after them, and found them in Bantry-Bay, where-upon drawing his Ships up into a Line, and lying upon the Stretch, he battered them extreamly, from 10 in the Morning, till 5 in the Afternoon, at what time the French Admiral went off, and stood farther into the Bay : On our side, we lost Captain Aylmer of the *Portland*, with a Lieutenant, and about 300 Seamen killed and Wounded ; the Damage of the French was equal to ours, though they had the Bay to shelter them, the Wind, and a double number of Ships : So soon as the English were gone, the French weighed Anchor for fear of a second Engagement.

King James now sets forward with his Army toward London Derry ; where the Garrison had already Proclaimed King William and Queen Mary, and had received from England 480 Barrels of Powder, and Arms for 2000 Men, with a Commission to Collonel Lundy to be Governor, and promise of further Supply : King James's Army consisted in about 12000 Men, and a very good Train of Artillery ; his Generals were Monsieur de Mornont, General of the French Horse, the Sieur Piscina, General of the Foot ; Collonel Hamilton Lieutenant General of the Irish Foot, all under the Standard of France ; and consisting of several Regiments, commanded by the D<sup>r</sup> of Berwick, and Fitz-James his Brother, the Lord Netterville Abercorn, Collonel Sheiden, and Collonel Randleigh : The King had some assurance given him, that the Town upon his Approach, wou'd undoubtedly Surrender, and that the very sight of so formidable an Army, would fright them into a Compliance, and therefore April 18. he advances with his Army before the Walls with flying Colours : Orders were given that none should fire, till the Kings Demands were first known ; but the People of London-Derry, wondring to see

Lieutenant General Hamilton approaching the Walls contrary to his ingagement, not to come within 4 Miles of the Town, imagined they were betrayed, and fired their Guns upon them; which being unexpected by the Enemy, some of them fled; others hid themselves, and a great many were kill'd; and it was reported that one Captain Froy was slain near the Kings Person, who was in some disorder to find himself so Roughly and Unmannerly Treated by those, from whom he expected a Dutiful Compliance, as well as at the Behaviour of his Army, so different from the Character he had received of both; and therefore those in the Town, who had encouraged him to try this dangerous Experiment, sent some Persons to the King to excuse it, by alledging the Difficulty of Commanding an untractable Multitude. But upon their return, they were three Days before this, kept out by the People; Collonel Cunningham and Richards came into the Lough from England, with 2 Regiments and other Necessaries for Supply of Derry, with Instructions to receive Orders from Goyernor Lundy, who thereupon called a Council of War, where the 2 Collenels being present, with others unacquainted with the Condition of the Town, or the Inclination or Resolution of the People, they make an Order, 'that there not being Provision in the Town for the present Garrison and the 2 Regiments, for above a week or ten Days; and the place not being Tenable against a Formidable Army, therefore it was not Advisable to Land the 2 Regiments, and that considering the Enemy will soon possess themselves of the place, the Principal Officers shall privately withdraw, that the Inhabitants by a timely Capitulation, may make the better Terms with the Enemy: In pursuance of this Order, Collonel Cunningham,

- Richards,

Richards, with their Officers, went to their Ships ; which with 2 Regiments on Board, Sailed Back for England : And the Council in pursuance of these pernicious intentions , proceeded to conclude upon a Surrender, and drew up a Paper to that purpose , which most of them Signed ; and the Town was Designed to have been delivered up in 2 or 3 Days

In the mean time, the Officers and Soldiers in London-Derry, who knew nothing of the Order of Council, earnestly intreated Collonel Lundy , that the English Forces might Land, that with their Assistance, they might take the Field, and fight the Enemy before the Cannon were brought over, in Order to the Preservation of that Corner, into which the Provisions and Wealth of 3 or 4 Counties was crowded : The Collonel to delude them, told them publickly, ' That it was resolved, the English Forces should immediately Land, and when they were in their Quarters, the Gates should be opened , and all joyn in Defence of the Town ; and to carry on the Intreague, the Sheriffs were ordered to go through the City, to provide quarters for them; but all this was a meer sham, that he and the Officers might get away with the greater Ease and Safety.

A Party of Irish having a few Days before Attempted to Ford the River at Castle Fin, were repulsed by some Forces sent out of Derry, who opposed their coming over, till all their Ammunition was spent ; After which, they followed the rest of the English Army, which were 10000 strong, and made good their Retreat to Derry ; but were much Surprized to find the Gates shut against them by the Governors Order : So that many Officers, Soldiers, and Private Gentlemen, were forced that Night to lyce about the Walls ; but the next Day with much Difficulty, and some Violence upon the Centry by firing

ring at him, and calling for Fire to burn the Gates, that and the other Gates were thrown open: This and other Passages, occasioned great jealousies of the Governor; but when the Town-Clerk found it absolutely necessary to Publish the Resolutions of the Council of War, ‘ That Collonel Cunningham, his Ships, Men and Provisions, should return to England, and all Gentlemen and others in Arms, should quit the Garrison, and go along with him; the Common Soldiers were extreamly enraged at their Officers, several of whom at this time had Deserted them, and fled for England: So that they could not forbear expressing it with Violence on some of them; One Captain Bell was shot Dead, and another Burnt, who with more Officers was got into a Boat, as they imagined to get away.

K. James upon the Repulse he had received, retired the same Evening with his Army to St. John-stown, about 5 Miles from Derry; and staid there 2 Days to wait for an Answer from the City, to the Proposal he had made April 17. ‘ That to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood, if they would Surrender the City, Honourable Terms should be allowed them; the Council in the absence of Collonel Lundy ( who thought it for his safety to keep his Chamber ) proceeded upon the Governors Project, to chuse 20 Men to go out and Capitulate with K. James; but the Multitude on the Walls, and at the Gates hearing of it, were so exceedingly incensed, that they Threatn'd: ‘ If a Man of them offered to go out on that Errand, they would treat him as a betrayer of the Town, the Protestant Religion and K. Williams Interest: Upon which, none of them durst offer to go, and so a Stop was put to that dangerous Capitulation, notwithstanding the Orders of the Governor and Council; so little did

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the Soldiers regard any Command that seemed to cross their Resolutions of Defending the City. The Multitude having thus broken the Authority of the Council, they with Collonel Lundy, thought fit to withdraw, & he with some Difficulty got to the Ships at Culmore & from thence to England: Upon which, the Garrison seeing they were Deserted by their Governor; and having resolved to Defend the Town against the Enemy, they chose Mr. Walker a Clergyman, and Major Baker to be their Governors during the Siege; and the Soldiers whom their Officers had left, chose their Captains, and each Captain which of the Colonels he would serve under, as they pleased themselves; and one Mr. Bennet was sent to England, to give an account of their Resolutions to maintain the place; and to desire Speedy Succors to be sent from thence for their Assistance.

April 9. A Trumpet came to the Walls from K. James, to know why they sent not out Commissioners to Treat according to their Proposals, but the People having put a stop to it, Collonel Whitney wrote a few Lines to excuse themselves to the King: The next Day the Lord Straband came up, making many Proposals; and offering his Kings Pardon, Protection, and Favour, if they would Surrender the Town; but these fine words, had no place with the Garrison; for at that very time of this Capitulating, the Enemy were observed to use that opportunity, for drawing their Cannon to a convenient stand: Whereupon they desired his Lordship to withdraw, or else they should fire upon him; he still continued his Compliments, till they plainly told him, they would never deliver the Town to any but K. William and Q. Mary, and their Order: My Lord having ended all his Insinuations, found himself at last obliged to Retire; So that K. James

James having lost all hopes of Accommodation, resolved if possible, to reduce them by force, and raised several Batteries against the Town, his Head Quarters being still at St. Johnstown : The Fort of Culmore had some time before been Deserted by Captain Jemmat the Governor, by Order of Collonel Lundy , and a few Irish possest themselves of it ; but it was soon Recovered by a small Artifice : Divers Skirmishes happened between the 2 Armies during the Siege, particularly May 6. in a Sally made by the Besiegers, wherein 200 of the Enemy were killed, and 500 wounded, 300 of whom dyed in a few days of their wounds; and among others, General Mommune a French Man, with other Officers of Note.

The Enemy now remove their Main Body, from St. Johnstown , and pitch their Tents about 1 Miles from Derry, on an Hill, placing such strict Guards on all sides of the Town, that the Besieged found it impossible to Convey or Receive any intelligence and difficult to come by the Wel's of water; which they often sought for, and cost some of them their Blood. June 4. The Enemy with a Body of Horse and Foot, made an Attack on the Windmill Works ; beginning with a loud Huzza, which was seconded from all parts of the Camp, with most dreadful Screecks and Howlings of a Numerous Rabble that attended their Army : The Faggot Men were forced to quit their New Defence ; which they laid before them for Security against the Shot, and run for it ; Captain Butler with 30 Horse, mounted the Works ; but none of his Men falling, though shot at, the Besieged found they had Armour, and therefore kill'd their Horses, whereby only 3 Troopers escapt : The Irish Foot did not run away so fast as usual, which was wondred at, till it was observed, that in their Retreat, they took the

Dead

Dead on their Backs, to secure themselves from the Shot; which was more secure than when they were alive: the Enemy in this Action, lost 400 Men, most of their Officers kill'd, and some made Prisoners, the Besieged had only six Souldiers and a Captain killed.

June 15. A Fleet of 30 Sail came into the Lough from England; but to prevent their coming up to the Town, the Enemy Contrived a Boom of Timber joyned with Iron Chains, and a Cable of 12 Inches, and afterward another, of which the Besieged had an account by some Prisoners taken, which very much discouraged them, for they doubted whether the Fleet (at the first fight, of which they were very joyful) would be able to get up with the Provisions which they so extreamly wanted, insomuch that the Men where they could find an Horse a Grazing neer the Windmill, would kill and eat him: The Enemy upon the appearing of the Ships, seemed to be in a mighty Consternation, pulling down their Tents, and the Soldiers changing their red Coats, ran away; but the Terror was soon over, when they saw them make no great Attempt to come up, though they had both Wind and Tyde to assist them; and thereupon they raised Batteries to hinder them, and made the Boom aforesaid.

June 24. Rosen the French Marshal General, Arrived in the Camp; and finding so little progress in the Siege, he Swore by the Belly of God, he would Demolish the Town, and bury the Besieged in the Ashes; and put all to the Sword without Consideration of Age or Sex, and Study the most Exquisite Torments, to lengthen out the misery of those that opposed his Command; but providence disappointed his Cruel Malice, and delivered the poor Protestants out of his bloody Hands.

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The Besieged used all possible endeavours, to get intelligence from the Ships, by making many signs from the Steeple, by Cannon Shot, and by drawing in their Flag, to represent their Distressed condition to them; but all proved ineffectual: At length June 25 OneRoch, who got to the Water side over against them, and then Swam cross the River, came and gave them an account of the Ships Men, Provision and Arms in them for their Relief, adding, That it was desired, that if he got safe to Town, to give them in the Ships notice of it by 4 Guns from the Steeple; which was accordingly done: They endeavoured to send back to M. Gen. Kirk, and one went to that purpose; but was taken and hanged by the Enemy: The Besieged were more streightned every day by the Enemy, their Iron Balls being now spent; so that they were obliged to make Balls of Brick, covered over with lead. June 30. The L. Clancarty at the Head of a Regiment, possesses himself of a Line, and enters some Miners in a low Cellar; but the Besieged fired so briskly upon them, that his Lordship was forced to quit his Post; and leave his Miners, and 100 of his best Men dead on the place, which much discouraged the Irish, who had a Prophecy among them, that a Clancarty should knock at the Gates of Derry; but we see that little value is to be put either upon Irish Prophecies or Courage.

The same day Governor Baker dyed, which was a sensible loss to the Garrison, and generally lamented, being a valiant Person, who in all his Actions, shewed the greatest Honour, Courage and Conduct. And now Rosen sends a Letter into the Town, that 'if they did not Surrender by 6 a Clock Afternoon, July 1. he would Order all the Protestants in the adjacent Towns, to be driven under the Walls of Derry, where they should perish, if not Relieved by

'by the Besieged, that he would destroy all the Country, if any Troops came to their Relief: But if the Garrison would become Royalists ( as he termed it ) and deliver on any Tolerable Conditions, he would protect them from all injuries, and give them his Favour: The Besieged received all these Proposals with Contempt, and some Indignation, having before made an Order; That it should be Death to mention a Surrender; the Enemy drive the poor Protestants, according to their Threatning under the Walls ; and the Besieged thinking them Enemies, fired on them ; but were mightily pleased to hear that Divine providence had spared them ; and that their shot had kill'd 3 of the Enemy ; There were some thousands of them, which so enraged the Besieged, that in sight of their Camp, they erected a Gallows, threatening to hang their Friends that were Prisoners, unless they were removed and sent home again : The Prisoners themselves Reproached the Irish, declaring they could not blame the Besieged for putting them to Death, seeing their People exercised such Severity and Cruelty upon the poor Protestants that were under protection: The sight of the Gallows, and the importunity of some Friends of those that were to suffer, at length prevailed, so that July 4. the poor People had leave to return home; the Enemy had now advanced so near the Town, that the Besieged from the Works, could talk with the Irish, who exprest great prejudice and hatred against the French, cursing those 'Dam'd Fellows that watched in Trunks ( meaning their Jack-Boots ) who had all Preferments in the Army that fell ; and took the Bread out of their Mouths ; and they believed would have all the Kingdom to themselves at last. July 11. The Enemy called for a Parley ; and sent one to know if they would Treat about Surrendring ; which the Besieged

Besieged to gain time, thought fit to agree to, and Commissioners were named on both sides; but the Enemy not allowing them time till July 26. the Treaty soon ended; The Garrison was now reduced to 4456 Men, who were under the greatest extremity for want of Provision, insomuch that Horseflesh was Sold for 20 d. a pound; a quarter of a Dog, fatned by eating the Dead Bodies of the Irish, 5 s 6 d. a Dogs Head half a Crown; A Cat 4 s. 6 d. A Rat a Shilling; a Mouse Six pence; a pound of Greaces a Shilling; a pound of Tallow four Shillings; a pound of Salted Hides a Shilling; a quart of Horse Blood a Shilling; a Horse pudding 6 d. an handful of Sea wreck two pence; Of Chickweed a penny; a quart of Meal when found, a Shilling: Yea, at length they were under so great necessity, that they had nothing left, unless they could prey one upon another: And a fat Gentleman thought his Body in such danger, that he hid himself for 3 days, imagining that several Soldiers lookest on him with a greedy Eye; their Drink was Water, and cost very dear, they mixt it with Ginger and Anniseeds, of which they had great plenty: They eat a Composition of Tallow and Starch, which did not only Nourish and Support them; but was an infallible Cure of the Loosness, which many were sorely troubled with: And yet in the midst of this Extremity, the Spirit and Courage of the Soldiers was so great, that they were often heard confidently, and with some anger contend, whether they should take their Pay and Arrears in Ireland or in France, when alas they could not promise themselves 12 hours Life.

But the Hour of their Extremity, was the fit Season for Divine Providence to interpose, and render it self the more observable in their Deliverance, for July 28: about 7 in the Evening, they perceived 3 Ships, which were the Montjoy of Derry, the Phenix

Phenix of Colrain, and the Dartmouth Frigat , which they soon discovered were the Ships Major G. Kirk had sent, who had assured them ; ' That he would certainly relieve them, when they could hold out no longer, though he indangered himself, his Men and Ships : The Enemy Fired most Desperately upon them from the Fort of Culmore, and both sides the River ; and they made sufficient returns with the greatest Bravery : When they had passed the Fort, the expectations of speedy Succor, raised in the Besieged a strang Transport of Joy ; The Montjoy made a little stop at the Boom, occasioned by her rebound after striking, and breaking it, so that she was run aground : Upon which, the Enemy who gathered in Swarms to the Water-side, set up the loudest Huzza's, and the most Dreadful to the Besieged, that they ever heard, Crying out *Their Ships were taken* : they fired all their Guns upon her, and were preparing Boats to burn her ; but by great Providence, she firing a Broad-side, the shock loosened her : So that she got clear, and passed the Boom ; the Phenix all this while was ingaged, and the Dartmouth gave them very warm Entertainment ; At length the Ships got to them, to the inexpressible Transport and Comfort of the Distressed Garrison, who only reckoned upon 2 Days Life, and had no more than 9 lean Horses left, and one point of Meal to each Man ; Hunger and the Fatigue of War had so prevailed among them, that of 7500 Men Regimented, they had now alive but 4300, whereof at least one 4th. part were rendred unserviceable : This brave undertaking, and their several Successful Attempts against the Enemy so Discouraged them, that July 31. They raised the Siege, and run away in the Night-time, Robbing and Burning all before them for several Miles ; the next Morning after the Men were refrest with their New Provisions,

visions, they went out to see what was become of the Besiegers, whom they saw in their March, and pursued a little too far, so that the Reer guard of the Enemies Horse turn'd and killed 7 of their Men, and upon the News of the Defeat of Lieutenant General Mackarty, they so hastned their March, that they broke in pieces four of their great Guns, and threw 12 artloads of Arms and Ammunition into the River, and the Besieged had above 2000 Arms, besides Money, Cloths &c. Thus after 10 Days being close besieged by near 20000 Men, constantly supplyed from Dublin, God Almighty was pleased to deliver this poor City from a powerful and inveterate Enemy to their great Disappointment and Disreputation, insomuch, that K. James upon his Retiring, was reported to have laid in disdain to his Commanders: Gentlemen, I think we have made a very fine Summers work of it: The Enemy lost near 9000 Men before the Walls, and 100 of their best Officers, most of them by the Sword, the rest of Fevers and Flux, and the French Pox; which was very remarkable on the Bodies of several of their dead Officers and Soldiers: Whereas the Besieged had only Eighty Men slain by the Enemy.

Neither were the Inniskillin Men wanting in performing many notable Actions; for during the whole time of the Siege, they kept at least one half of the Irish Army from coming before London-Derry, for fear they should relieve the Town; So that they durst not make a Regular Attack upon the place; but were forced to divide their Men, keeping strong Guards at several distant places, and therefore they deserve no small part of the Honour of that places Preservation; and particularly the Remarkable Defeat given to the Irish the day before the Raising the Siege, (the News whereof made

made the Enemy run away with such great hast and precipitation ) ought never to be forgotten; for July 30. The Inniskilliners hearing that a Body of about 6000 Irish under Major General Mackarty, were Marching toward them, they very boldly and bravely went to meet them about 20 Miles off, at a place called Newtown Butler, where though the Enemy had secured their Army beyond a long Bog, yet the Courage of the English was so great, that they came up to the Mouths of their Cannon, and Seized them, killing all their Cannoneers, which so terrified the Irish, that both Horse and Foot instantly fled; and the English Foot perlung theirs, and giving quarter to few or none but Officers that day, they not having Courage to fight for their Lives, Desperately leapt into the Bogg in several places, to the Number of about 500, and none escaped drowning, except one Person only, who got through after many a shot made after him: In this Action, a Remarkable stroke was given by Capt. William Smith, who at one blow, Cut off the upper part of a Mans Head, just under the Hat, as much of the Skull as was within the Hat, with all the Brains, being quite struck away from the other part of the Skull, that stuck with the Body, and not so much as a bit of skin to keep them together; but what was cut quite thorow: Mackarty when his Men were fled, got away with 5 or 6 Officers, to a wood near the place where the Cannon were taken, and soon after they came back again on Horse-back, and he fired his Pistolet on those that guarded the Cannon; upon which, 7 or 8 Soldiers, who before thought them Friends fired their Musquets at him; and killed his Horse, wounding him in several places, and then to put him out of his pain, one of the Soldiers Club'd his Musket to have knockt out his Brains, upon which, one of his Company

pany Cryed out, hold your hand, it is General Mackarty : Whereupon Captain Cooper coming up gave him and the rest quarter ; and asking him, why he so rashly hazarded his Life, when he might have escaped ; He replyed, ' That he now found the King's Army like to be lost ; his Army being the best for Number that K. James had, unless those before Derry ; who were then much broken, and that he came with a Design to loose his Life, and was sorry he had mist of his End, being unwilling to outlive that Day. This was a most Remarkable Victory, obtained under the Command of the Valiant Collonel Woolsey, the Irish were reckoned 5000 and the English not above 2000, the Enemy confess that 3000 of their Men were wanting, they lost 7 Cannon, 14 Barrels of Powder, a great quantity of Cannon and Musquet-Ball, and all their Drums and Colours ; the English lost not above 20 Men, and 40 or 50 wounded ; and hereby the Siege of Inniskillin was prevented, which by a Letter found about Mackarty, was designed to have been Besieged in a few Days by this Party, who were to be joyned with another Detachment, under the D. of Berwick : It has been since published, that this great Defeat partly happened by a fatal mistake in the Word of Command among the Irish ; for the Inniskillin Men charged the Irish Right Wing very smartly, which Mackarty perceiving, Ordered some of his Men to face to the Right, and March to Relieve their Friends, the Officer that received the Orders mistook ; and Commanding the Men instead of Facing to the Right, to Face to the Right about, and so March : The Irish in the Reer seeing their Front look with their Faces towards them and move, thought they had been Running ; and so without more ado, threw down their Arms, and run away : The rest seeing their Men run in the Reer,

run after them for Company, and were most of them Cut off, or drowned in the Beggs and Loughs; so unhappy may a small thing prove to a great Body of Men, and at other times, a little thing in appearance, proves very Advantagious: For we read of a Roman at Plough, who stood with his Ox-Yoak in in a Gap, and stopt the Soldiers that were running away, this made them face about and gain the Field; though all Men must acknowledge in that Action of the Inniskilliners, as well as at London-Derry, there was a great deal to be Attributed to their Valour; but more to the providence of God.

Another Remarkable Passage is Related; That before the Fight, about an hour and half after Sun-set, the People of Inniskillin saw from thence a great Light in the Air above Newtown Butler, where Mackarty then lay with his Army, which continued for some hours, so that they concluded the Irish had set that Town and all the Country about on Fire, or raised some Fire in the Country to give notice to Lieutenant General Sarsfield to joyn with them; but after the fight was over, upon inquiry into the matter, they found there was no fire that Night raised among them: This is the more observable; because the like was seen at Glaslongh, before the Action they had there with the Irish of the Garrison of Charlemont, whom they Defeated March 13. before, killing their Leader, and about 200 of his Men, with the loss only of one Captain; about a week before this happened, at 11 a Clock in a very dark Night, several Pillars of fire appeared in the Air, pointed from towards Charlemont, which were so light, they might have read by them, and continued thus 2 hours, to the Observation of all People there: The like account we have from Dr. Robert Maxwell, late Bishop of Kilmore, of what happened

happened in the Rebellion of 1641. who relates that 56 Protestants Men, Women, and Children, were taken out of his House and Drowned by the Irish at Curbridg, and that 3 or 4 Nights before, in the dark of the Moon, about one a Clock in the Night, a Light was observed in manner of a long Pillar to shine for a great way through the Air, and refracted upon the North Gabel of his Houſe; it gave so great a light about an hour together, that divers of the Watch Read both Letters and Books of a very small Character thereby, which the Doctor believed, did preſage that Bloody Maſſaſtre which insued. It is difficult to enter into the reaſon of these things; but this is only matter of Faſt, and every Man is left to his own Conjectures in them.

During theſe Transacſions in Ireland, K. William gives out Commissions in England, to Raise 18 Regiments of Foot, and 4 or 5 of Horse, and the Leavies went on with ſuch ſpeed, that the greatest part were Raised, Armed, and Clothed in 6 Weeks, and August 12. they were Imbarqued at High-Lake near Chester for Ireland; being about 10000 Foot and Horse, and 3 Days after they Landed near Carrickfergus, incamping in the Fields that Night; the Garrison Apprehending a Siege, burnt their Suburbs, and prepared for their Defence: Wheſeupon Duke Schomberg General of all their Majesties Forces, ſent 5 Regiments to incamp before the Town, and more the next day, which Surrounded it; whereupon they deſired a Parley, and required time to ſend to K. James for Succors; which the General abſolutely refuſed, and with his Mortars and Cannon, played upon the Town: Four days after they beat another Parley deſiring to March out with their Drums beating, &c. but this was denied; During the Parley, the Duke viſited all the Trenches, and obſerved the Walls

Walls of the Castle, and a poor Dutchman was shot from the Walls, making his returns to Reproaches against K. William, saying, That their King was a Tinker King, and had nothing but brass Money : He was not nimble enough at getting off, when the Parley was over, and so lost his Life for his-Jest's sake ; Aug. 25. The Guns play'd furiously, and made a great Breach in the Walls, which the Irish seeing, and fearing our Men would enter, they got a great number of Cattel together; and drove them all as near the top of the Breach, as they could force them to go, keeping themselves close behind them, several of the Cattel were killed by the shot, and as they fell, the Irish threw Earth, Stones and Wood upon them; but this they thought would not hold long, and so desired a third Parley ; and at length it was agreed, that they should March out with their Arms, and some Baggage, which they did accordingly ; and the English Forces took possession of Carickfergus, (as they had done before) of the Towns of Belfast and Antrim, which the Enemy for fear had Deserted : ) While they were in Treaty at Carickfergus, and the Articles were scarce agreed to, Mackarty Moor, Governor of the Town, was got in the Dukes Kitchin in the English Camp ; which his Grace smiled at, and did not invite him to Dinner ; Saying, ' If he had staid like a Soldier with his Men, he would have sent to him ; but if he would go and eat with Servants in a Kitchin, let him be doing : The Country People were so Inveterate against the Soldiers, (remembering how they served them some few days before) that they stript most part of the Women ; and forced a great many Arms from the Men, and took it very ill, that the Duke did not hang them all, notwithstanding the Articles : Nay, they were so rude, that the Duke was obliged to ride in among them with

with his Pistol in his Hand, to keep the Irish from being Murdered; who were forced to fly to the Soldiers for Protection, so angry were they at one another, though they all live in the same Country. The Enemy had about 150 killed and wounded in the Siege; and the English as many killed, and about 60 wounded.

The English Army now March on, through Lisburn, Drummore, Lough Island, and so to Newry; which they found newly burnt and Deserted by the D. of Berwick and his Forces, who had only time to set it on fire, and take all the People, with whatsoever was valuable along with him; upon which, the Duke sent a Trumpet to the Irish, to let them know, ‘ That if they burnt any more Towns, he would give them no Quarter ; Sep. 7. The Army Marched thence to Dundalk, which was likewise Deserted, but not burnt : Here they encamp'd within a Mile of the Town, in a low moist Ground where many grew sickly ; the Irish boasting to the Protestants when they went away ; ‘ That they would drive the English all back again into the Sea, or else they would dye of themselves, not being used to the Field, especially in a strange Country, and at that time of the year : And indeed it went hard with them for want of Provisions, especially Bread, of which the Enemy grew sensible : They had before Retreated beyond Droghedah, in much Confusion, not doubting but the Duke being an Old General, would not have come into Ireland without a good Army, and all things well provided ; and were upon the point of Deserting not only Droghedah; but Dublin also, by the Advice of the French General Rosen, and to Retreat towards Athlone and Lymerick : But when De Rosen heard that D. Scomberg halted, he said, he was sure they wanted something ; and therefore advised to hasten their

their Army together, in which Tyrconnel was so diligent, that from 8000, he made a Body of 20000 Men in a few days, with which they Marched to Ardee, and Seis'd all the Provisions that the Protestants had got together, for the English Army, which they expected there; but unhappily stay'd too long: Sep. 13. The English received 204 Loads of Bread, which the Ships brought to Carlingford; and then the General Ordered the Camp to be fortified, that the Enemy might not break in upon them, and strict Guards to be kept in the Night, because they had notice that the Irish Marched toward them, and accordingly Sep. 21. they advanced to the English Camp, and offered Battle; but the D. knowing they could not easily force the Camp, and for several other prudential Reasons declined to ingage; upon which the Irish drew off to Droghedah: About which time, a Correspondence was discovered to be held with the Enemy by some Soldiers in the French Regiments upon which, 6 of the Principal Conspirators were Hanged, who all dyed Papists; and confess they listed themselves on purpose to bring over as many as they could to K. James, they prayed for K. William and Queen Mary, and askt their pardons for their Treachery; and declared further, that if the General had ingaged the Enemy when they offered Battel, they themselves were to put the English Army into Confusion, by firing in the Reer, and so Deserting; so that it was a great Providence that the Duke then refused to fight.

Sep. 25. Colonel Lloyd with about 1000 Inniskillers Defeated a Body of 5000 Irish that were going to Sligo, killing 700, and taking O Kelly, and 40 more Officers Prisoners, with a great Booty of about 8000 Cattel, with the loss only of 14 Men; The News whereof coming to Duke Schomberg in the Camp, he ordered all the Inniskilling Horse and

Foot that had lately joyned the Army to draw out, and Complimented them so far, as to ride all along the Line with his Hat off, and then ordered some Fire-works to be made for joy. A great many now began to be sick, by reason of the bad weather, and most were so lazy, that they would starve, rather than fetch Fern, or any thing else to keep themselves dry and warm ; which was the greatest occasion of Distempers, Sickness and Death it self, and many when dead, were incredibly lousy ; which caused the General to say, ‘the English Men will ‘fight ; but they do not love to work: Both Forrage and Firing grew now very scarce, which increased the distempers among the Soldiers, upon which the Sick were ordered to be sent Aboard the Ships at Dundalk, that had brought fresh Provisions. The beginning of November , the Enemy Decampt and Marcht to Winter Quarters; and at the same time, Sligo was taken by Sarsfield, who came upon them unexpectedly with a considerable Body, and the place not being provided either with Ammunition or Water, it was Surrendred to the Irish upon Honourable Terms: As the English Soldiers came out of the Town, Collonel Sarsfield stood with a Purse of Guineas, and offered to every one that would serve K. James, 5 Guineas Advance, with Horse and Arms, but they all answered, *they would never fight for the Papishes, as they called them;* Nay, even those that were a dying in the Camp, were wont to express no other Sorrow, than *Plague on these Papishes, that we must dye here, and not have leave to go and Fight them:* The Sickness increased, and great numbers dyed daily ; so that the General concluded to decamp from Dundalk, and March back to Belfast ; which they did accordingly, the Sick being carryed in Waggons, and the Army Marcht in the Wet and Snow, so that many Perisht by the way, yet upon

upon an Alarm that the Enemy were coming upon them, they grew very hearty and began to unbuckle their Tents, saying, If the Irish came, they should pay for their lying in the Cold so long: As to the number of Men that dyed of this great Mortality, it is computed that near 1700 dyed about Dundalk, about 2000 were shipt for England, and not much above half came ashore; but dyed at Sea: So that in the whole, they lost near 5000 Men, which was imputed very much to the bad Weather, the Moistures of the place, and the Tenderne's and Carelessness of the English, whereas the Dutch kept themselves so clean and warm, that not above 11 of them dyed the whole Campaign.

A Remarkable Passage happened a year before, near Dundalk, which seemed to presage this great destruction of Men: A worthy Gentleman with 2 others and their Servants, coming from Dublin to the North, as they approached Dundalk about 9 at Night, espied several little Trinkling Lights in the Air, with 2 larger then the rest; about the ground where the English Army Incampt this year; and at the same time, they heard the most heavy and dismal Groans in the World, which continued till they came to Newry; but the Lights they saw only upon the Plains of Dundalk.

Nov. 23. The Enemy with a Detachment of 1600 Men, and 100 Voluntiers, Attempted to force the Pass at Newry, and then designed to go along the Line, and destroy the Frontier Garrisons, there were not above 60 English in the Town, and not 40 of those able to present a Musquet, who yet fired upon them so briskly, and affrighted them with such loud Huzza's, that the Irish imagining their number far greater then they were, fled, leaving 6 Men dead, and carrying off 12 Horseload of dead and wounded Men. Dec. 4. Collonel Woolsey went in the

Night with a Party of Inniskilling Horse toward Belturbet; upon whose Approach, the Garrison being Surprized, yielded to the first Summons: Soon after Lieutenant General Mackarty made his escape from Inniskilling, where he was Prisoner, he pretended to be sick, and desired the Duke to remove his Guards, which was granted; and the Town standing on a Lough, the water came to the Door, whereupon he found means to Corrupt a Serjeant, and got 2 small Boats to carry him and his Moveables, the Serjeant went along with him; but returned that Night to deliver a Letter, which with Mackarty's Pais being found in the Lining of his Hat, he was the next day shot for it: The Duke was much concerned at the News, and said, He took him for a Man of Honour; but he would not expect that in an Irishman any more. In February, General Woolfley with 700 Foot and 300 Horse, Routed a Body of 4000 Irish at Cavan, killing about 300 Soldiers and several Officers; and 60 Soldiers with 12 Officers were made Prisoners, and all with the loss only of 30 Men, and 2 Captains Feb. 15. Sir John Lanier with a Party of 1000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, went from Newry toward Dundalk; which the Enemy had Fortified very well, since the English left it; and therefore he did not think fit to Attempt it, however he drew up near the Town, upon which the Irish came out; but soon retired, and the Major General burnt the West part of the Town, and took Bedloe Castle with 30 Prisoners, and the Ensign that Commanded it; and returned with a Booty of high 1500 Cows and Horses: The Ensign was carried before the General at Lisburn, who took him aside to inquire about the posture of the Enemy, 'you ( says the Duke ) have a Commission, and for that reason ( if not otherwise ) you are a Gentleman, this Obligeth you to speak truth, which if you

'you do not, I can know it by examining other  
'Prisoners, and then I shall have no good Opinion  
'of you: But though the Duke talked with him  
half an hour, it was thought he discovered little  
material.

In March 400 Danes Landed at Belfast, with the  
P. of Wirtemburg their General, being lusty Fel-  
lows, well Clothed and Armed. The same Month  
about 5000 French Foot Landed at Kingsale with 2  
Generals, the Count de Lauzun, and the Marques  
de Lery, K. James sending back as many Irish un-  
der L. General Mackarty: Our Fleet then attend-  
ing the Queen of Spain, made this undertaking ver-  
ry easy to the French; before they arrived, some  
of the Irish Nobility in Discourse with K. James,  
said to him: Sir, 'Is not the French Fleet in dan-  
ger to be met with by the English?' to which he  
Replied, That he during his time, had taken care  
that the English should not have any great strength  
by Sea; and now to Equip and set out a Fleet,  
would be tedious, besides the Expences, and that  
he did not doubt but the French would master  
them. As soon as these Forces Landed at Cork,  
above 500 of them dyed of some Pestilent Distem-  
per; the rest being come to Dublin, General Lau-  
zun sent to the Governor Lutterel, to deliver the  
Keys of the City and Castle to him, pursuant to K.  
James's promise to his Master, to give him posseſſi-  
on of Dublin, and all the strong places in Ireland;  
Lutter Replied, he would first acquaint the King,  
and accordingly accompanied the L. Mayor and  
Aldermen to Address the King, telling him, that  
they had hitherto ventured their Lives and Fortunes  
in his Defence, and therefore hoped he would still  
confide in them to govern Dublin; and would not  
make them absolute Subjects to the French King;  
To whom he Replied, 'That he had ingaged his

\* Word to his Brother Lewis, that Lauzun should have the Government of Dublin, and could not recede from it; Thereupon the Keys of the City were delivered; but the French would not Mount the Guards, till they had likewise the Keys of the Castle, which were likewise given them; and so they possēt themselves of the City and Castle, swearing; 'they had no King but King Lewis, nor wōuld they obey any other, and under him their General Lauzun; from thence they grew very insolent to Protestants; and as they passed by any of the Clergy, threatned them severely: So that they consulted to Disguise themselves in Frize Coats, for security against these French Vultures; they had not been above 2 days in Dublin, when they Murthered 2 or 3 Protestant Clothiers in the City, at a place called Comb, for Protecting their Wives from being Ravished; of which Inhuman Act, no more notice was taken, than if 2 Dogs had been shot; they took a Country Maid that came to Market with her Father, and defloured her in the open Street at Noon-day; Many such Barbarous Villainies were committed by them: There being above 10000 Protestant Men in Dublin able to bear Arms, besides Women and Children; and being barred the Liberty of the Markets by the French, who would not sell Bread to the Protestants, as the Irish Papist Soldiers did, it was almost a Miracle that thoulands had not perished; Many of the sober Papists were also sensible of their rudeness, and grew mighty dejected, often complaining to their King, of the disdainful Treatment they received from the French, who called them Ten Thousand Cowards, and said, they were beaten by a Priest and a few Boys, meaning the Valiant Collonel Walker, and those Matchless Hero's that Defended London-Derry; and that De Avaux the French Ambossador, said to General Lauzun

Lauzun upon his Landing; 'you are come to be a 'Sacrifice for a poor Spirited and Cowardly Peo- 'ple, whose Soldiers will never fight, and whose 'Officers would never obey Orders; and there- 'fore will meet with the same Fate that our Masters 'Army did at Candia, that is to be wasted and de- 'stroyed by the Enemy, and Deserted by those you 'came to relieve: But K. James had no power to help himself or them, having by his Degenerate and Mean Spirit, Truckled his Authority; and became Subject to the power of France, and contented himself to be a King in Name only.

April 6. 1690. Collonel Woolseley with a Detached Party of 700 Men, Attackt the Castle of Killishandra with such Briskness, that the Enemy Surrendred it, they being 150 Men; On the 10th. Collonel Tiffen sent out a Party from Bellishannon, who brought of a Prey from the Neighbourhood of Sligo, and killed about 16 of the Enemy as they pursued them.

April 12. Sir Clovesly Shovel came to Belfast, as Convoy to several Ships that brought over necessaries for the Army; and having notice of a Frigat at Anchor in the Bay of Dublin, with other small Vesse's Loaden with Hides, Tallow, Wooll, and some Plate, and other Goods designed for France, he Sailed thither, and leaving the great Ships in the Bay, with the Monmouth Yatch, and 2 or 3 more, and several Long-Boats, he went to Polebeg, where the Frigat lay, of 16 Guns and 4 Pattereroes; being a Scotch Ship taken the year before in the Channel: When K. James heard of it, he said; *It was some of his Loyal Subjects of England, returning to their Duty and Allegiance*: But when he saw them draw near the Ship, and heard the firing, he rid out towards Rings End, whither gathered, a vast Croud of People of all sorts, and several Regiments were drawn

up, if possible to kill those bold Fellows at Sea, who durst on a Good-Fryday (as this happened to be) perform so wicked a deed, as they said; Captain Bennet that Commanded the Frigat, run her aground, and after several firings from her, and some other Ships, when they saw a Fire-Ship coming in, which Sir Clovesly had given a sign to, they all quitted the Frigat, being at first 40; but lost 6 or 7 in the Action; Sir Clovesly was in the Monmouth Yatch; in going off, one of the Hoys run aground, and was dry when the Tide was gone, and the rest of the Boats were not far off; being full of Armed Men; and a Frenchman of King James's Guards, coming nigh the Boats to fire his Pistols in a Bravado, had his Horse shot under him; and was forced to fling off his Jack-Boots, and run back in his Stockins to save himself; some of the Seamen went on Shoar, and took his Saddle and Furniture; when the Tide came in, they went off with their Prize to the Ships below; K. James went back very much dissatisfied, and it was reported, should say, *That all the Protestants in Ireland were of Cromwell's Breed, and deserved to have their Throats Cut;* However all the Protestants that walked that way during the Action, were imprisoned, and 2 made their escape to the Boats.

Monsieur Callimot, with his French Regiment, had some time before Attempted the strong Castle of Charlemont, setting fire to the Bridge, and killing about 20 Men, and then Retreated; May 2. The Irish put Relief into the place, which was conveyed with a Detachment of 4 or 500 Men, and Collonel Callimots Regiment who were quartered at Blackwater, knowing the Convoy must return, resolved to intercept them; and as they were Marching back, fell upon them with such Courage, that he forced them again into the Castle, and this they did

did 2 or 3 times, which Teague O Regan, the Old Irish Governor perceiving, he Swore, If they could not get out, they should have no Entertainment nor Lodging within : And was as good as his word, for they were forced to make little Huts within the Palisadoes, so that between Teague and the English, the poor Fellows were in a lamentable Condition ; After this the General sent several Regiments to block up Charlemont, with Cannon to force Old Teague out of his Nest if possible, having Summoned him to Surrender sometime before, who returned the Messenger with this Answer ; Go tell thy Master ' from Teague O Regan, that he's an O'd Knave, ' and by St Patrick, he shall not have the Town at all ; when God knows there was no Town standing but an Old Castle : The Duke only smiled and said. He would give Teague greater Reason to be angry in a short time, and accordingly those Irish that had a mind to go out, being kept in, soon made Victuals very scarce, and no hopes of Relief appearing, the Old Governor sent to Treat about a Surrender, and the Terms being soon agreed to, this strong place was delivered up, about 400 Men, and 200 Irish Women and Children Marching out of it, the D. stood to observe them, and Teague O Regan appeared Mounted upon an Old Stone Horse, very lame with Spavin and Scratches, and so vicious, that he would fall a Squeeling and kicking if any Body came near him ; Teague himself had a great bunch upon his back, a plain red Coat, an Old Weather-beaten Wig hanging down at full length, a little narrow white Beaver Cockt up, a yellow Gravat-string tyed all on one side, his Boots with a 1000 wrinkles, and though it was very hot, a great Muff hanging about his back, and for uniformity, he was almost fudled with Brandy : In this Equipage he approached the Duke ; but had not made his Compliment,

ment ere the Jade fell to work, so that the D. had scarce time to make a Civil return ; The Duke smil'd afterwards, and said, *Teagues Horse was very Mad, and himself very Drunk* ; The Officers and Soldiers made the Duke a great many Legs, and stared upon him, to see whether he was a Man or some other strange Creature ; for the Irish usually asked one another, *what is that Shambeare that all this talk is of?* The Duke inquired why they kept so many Women and Children in their Garrison, which must needs consume their Provisions, ‘ He was told, that the Irish are naturally very Hospitable, and that they all fared alike ; but that the Soldiers would never be perswaded to stay in Garrison, without their Wives and Mistresses : The Duke replyed, *There was more Love than Policy in it* ; The Irish were to be guarded to Armagh, and among them were 2 Priests, one of whom in the way, fell into discourse with a Dragoon about Transubstantiation ; but being baffled, was so angry, that he fell a beating the Dragoon, who not being used to blows, thrasht the Priest severely, of which complaint being made to Teague, he replyed ; *I be very glad of it, What ie Deal had he to do to Dispute Religion with a Dragoon.*

King William being concerned that the War in Ireland should divert his Forces from going into France, resolved if possible, to reduce the Kingdom this Summer, by going thither in Person, and every one knew his Majesties Industry, Courage and Resolution to be so great, that he would endeavour to make a quick dispatch, and accordingly having left Kensington June 4. Ten days after he Arrived safe at Carickfergus, with his Highness Prince George, the D. of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Manchester, Scarborough, and several other Persons of Quality, and was received by the Officers, Soldiers, and People with all manner of Demonstrations

strations of Joy, the latter looking on His Majesty as their good Angel, who was come to deliver them from worse than Ægyptian Bondage ; Next day several of the Nobility, Officers, Gentry, and Clergy, presented a very Loyal Address to the King, which he graciously accepted : His Majesty was not idle, and seeing things did not go on so fast as he desired, express some Dissatisfaction, saying, *That he did not come there to let grass grow under his Feet,* he made his word good; for having taken a View of his Army, which with the great Recruits lately sent from England, amounted to about 36000 Compounded of English, Dutch, Danes, Germans and French, His Majesty advanced toward Dundalk.

The certain News of K. W. Landing coming to Dublin, it was moved by some Irish in K. James's Council, That the Protestants should be shut up in Churches and Hospitals, and then if they lost the day, to set fire to all, and destroy the People and City together : But the Irish Papists both in the City and Army, applyed themselves to the King, and told him; 'They should then be as much sufferers as the Protestants, and that they would not draw a Sword in his Defence, unless all thoughts of burning the City were laid aside ; and declared further, 'that as soon as they heard of any appearance of Fire, they would Desert his Service, and fly to K. Williams Mercy, which manaces put a stop to this Horrid Project. Before this, a Camp had been laid out by the Irish about Ardee, and K. James had ordered his Army to Rendevouze there from several parts of the Kingdom, and June 16. he Marched out of Dublin to joyn them with about 6000 French Foot, most old Soldiers, well Armed and Clad. The whole Irish Army incamped, made about 27000, all well Clothed, and in good Heart, both Horse and Foot, besides 15000 more that remained in Garrisons,

Garrisons, and the same day 6000 of the Country Militia came to quarter in the City; The Protestants expected the Irish would have been much dejected upon K. Will. Arrival; but on the contrary, they Triumphed and Rejoyced as if they had got him in a Pound, and the day were their own, assuring themselves, That either the French Fleet would prevent his return to England, or that an Insurrection would be made there, boasting that an Hundred Thousand Men were ready to Rise and declare for a Commonwealth; The Protestants knew not what to believe, for they were kept as Prisoners of War, and could know no more than they please to tell them; but they were more afraid that some desperate Persons had undertaken to destroy K. William, because their confidence was so great, that some told their Protestant Friends, They would be glad to go to Mass within a Twelvemonth.

When K. James was gone, Collonel Lutterel, who was left Governor, Ordered all Persons that walkt in the Streets without Swords or Bagonets, to be taken up and secured, whereby all Protestants who were suffered to wear none, were put into Custody; After which followed a Proclamation; That not above 5 Protestants besides the Family, should meet together in any place upon pain of Death. So that now they durst not go to Church, as they had hitherto done, the Churchmen still remained with them, though they had lost all their Maintenance by the Irish Parliament, except what was given them by the People; Dr. King was sent Prisoner to the Castle, and few Protestants durst walk the Streets: the method that K. James and the French proposed to deal with K. Williams Army, was, To make good the Passes upon the Newry Mountains, and at Dundalk; To spin out the War, and dispute their ground without coming to a General Battell.

till they came to the Boyn, and there to Defend the Pass ; but still without a Battle, if they could help it, much hoping for some Extraordinary thing from a Party in England, &c.

But K. William soon broke all their Measures, for resolving to lose no time, he came to the Camp at Lough-britland, where having taken a Critical Review of every Regiment, His Majesty and Prince George had their moving Houses set up, and never after lay out of the Camp, during their stay in Ireland. The King ordered a Party to go out to discover the motions of the Enemy, and heard they were Marching off from Dundalk toward Ardee, Upon which the English Army advanced to Newry, and from thence to Dundalk, and so forward to Ardee, the Irish still retiring, and at length passing over the Boyn : upon which the whole Army move in 3 Lines toward the Boyn, and by the way some Dragoons found in an Old House about 200 Scythes stretcht out upon Beams, which the Enemy had either forgot, or left behind for hast, and one of them being brought to the King, he smiled and said, *It was a Desperate Weapon* : The Irish Incamped on the other side the Boyn, and the King from an Hill took a view of them. and then rid along the River side to make more strict Observations, during which a Cannon Ball from the Enemy, kill'd 2 Horses and a Man about 100 yards from the King ; and instantly comes another, which had like to have been a fatal Bullet, for it grazed upon the Bank of the River, and in the rising flanted upon the Kings right shoul-der, and tore out a piece of his Coat, and also the Skin and Flesh ; and afterward broke the Head of a Gentlemans Pifol: A Gentleman seeing his Majesty struck, rid up, and put his Handkerchef upon the place: his Majesty took little notice of it; but rid on about 40 yards further, the Enemies Cannon firing upon

upon them all the while, and killed 2 of the Guards, and 9 Horses, disturbing the rest ; which the Irish perceiving, set up a prodigious shout all over the Camp, as if our Army had been destroyed ; The King went to change his Coat, and get his Shoulder dress, and then rid about to see the Army ; After which a Council of War was called ; and his Majesty declared, That he was resolv'd to pass the River next day, and accordingly all things were provided, every Man having a green Bough or Sprig in his Hat, the Enemy wearing pieces of Paper in theirs, the word that Night was Westminster ; and about 12 at Night, rid with Torches quite through the Army : The next Morning, July 1. the Dutch Blew Guards took the River first, some 8 or 10 a breast, being presently almost up to the middle, the Enemy stood on the other side ; but did not fire till our Men were toward the middle of the River, and then a whole Peal of shot came from the Hedges, Breast-works Houses and all about ; but only one Man fell, and another staggered, a Lieutenant of Grenadiers was the first that got footing on the other side, who instantly drew up 2 Files of Men, then stoopt, and the Enemy fired over him from the next Hedge, and afterward quitted the Hedge, which, the rest that were posted thereabout, seeing, they likewise fled, and were followed by a volley of shot from our Men : When on a suddain, a great many Battalions of the Enemy appeared from behind the little Hills ; we had two French Regiments, and one English, who passed the River at the same time, about 200 yards below, and routed those that opposed them ; The Dutch Advanced still, and the Irish quitted the Hedges and Van, stragling up and down the Field ; All our Horse went over to the Right and Left, except one Squadron of Danes, whom Lieut. Coll. Hamilton charged so home with

60 Horse, that they came faster back, than they went ;  
The want of Horse was so apparent here, that the  
very Country People cryed out Horse, Horse, which  
word going to the Right Wing, who thought it  
had been Halt, stopt them nigh half an hours time ;  
which with about 40 Irish Horse breaking through  
the French Regiment at the same time, was thought  
to be the occasion of D. Schombergs going over so  
unseasonably ; for in this Hurry, he was killed near  
a little Village beyond the River ; The Irish Troo-  
pers as they rid through, struck at him with their  
Swords, and some believe that his own Men firing  
too hastily when the Duke was before them, shot  
him themselves ; his Mortal Wound was through  
the Neck, and he had one or two Cuts in the Head,  
he fell down, and did not speak a word ; Dr. Wal-  
ker going, as was said, to look after the Duke, was  
shot in the Belly : The Action continued very hot  
for about an Hour ; but then the Irish Retreated to  
a rising ground, drew up to Charge our Party again  
that had passed the River ; The Danish and Dutch  
Horse with Collonel Woolseys Horse and Dragoons,  
and likewise the Danish Foot, and Collonel Cuts  
Regiment now got over the River ; The King du-  
ring these Transactions, was almost every where,  
riding between our Army and theirs, and giving the  
necessary Orders, attended only with one Dragoon,  
and then passed the River with some difficulty ; for  
his Horse being Bog'd on the other side, he was forc'd  
to alight, till a Gentleman helpt him to get his Horse  
out ; when the Men were got on the other bank,  
and put in order, his Majesty drew his sword ; but  
with some Trouble, by reason of his wounded Arm,  
and Marched before them toward the Enemy, who  
were coming in good Order upon our Foot, with  
double the number, and charged several times at  
the Head of them ; Our Horse were forced to give  
ground

ground, though the King was with them ; His Ma-  
jesty then went to the Inniskilliners, and askt what  
*they would do for him*, and advanced before them ;  
Their Officer told them who it was and at the Head  
of these Men, the King received the Enemies fire ;  
The Danish Horse once gave way ; but the K. went  
himself, and brought them up again ; so the Irish,  
K. James's Horse and Foot Guards principally main-  
tained this Opposition, and suffered much. Lieute-  
nant General Hamilton who had been employed by  
K. William, betrayed his Trust, finding the Irish  
Food did not answer his Expectation, he put him-  
self at the Head of the Horse ; and when they were  
Defeated, he was taken Prisoner, having received  
a wound on the Head, and brought to the K. who  
askt him whether the Irish would fight any more,  
*Yes* : said he, *and please your Majesty, upon my Honour*  
*I believe they will, for they have a good Body of Horse*  
*still* : The King lookt a little aside at him, and re-  
peated once or twice *your Honour, &c.* intimating  
that he had but little left, who had forfeited it by  
joyning with Tyrconnel ; and this was all the Re-  
buke the K. gave him, (who always says much i few  
words) for his unfaithfulness ; in the mean time,  
the Irish being beaten from the Pass, the English  
hastned towards the Body of the Enemy, that  
were posted at Doleek ; and as they Advanced,  
the Enemy drew off with such speed, that they left  
a great many Arms and Ammunition behind in  
that Village, and before our Horse could come up to  
Attack them, they were gone at leaft a mile before,  
their Horse and Ammunition in the Reer ; and their  
Foot Marching in great hast and Confusion, we per-  
sued them 3 Miles ; but did not Attack them, by  
reason of the Boggy Fields and Ditches : Of the  
Irish were killed the Lords Dungan and Carlingford,  
and many other Officers, with about 1500 Men ;

It was observed, that most of the Horsemen who charged so desperately, were drunk with Brandy, of which each Man that Morning, had half a pint for his own share. Of the English, were killed nigh 400; but the greatest loss was of D. Schomberg, whom his very Enemies acknowledged a brave Man, and a great General: He was certainly a Man of excellent Education, who was thoroughly acquainted with Men and things, Courteous and Civil to all; and yet had always something so great, that commanded respect from all Persons: A strong hearty Man, though 82 years old, and when unbowelled, his Heart, Entrails, and Brain, were as fresh and sound, as a Man of 40, and might have probably lived longer, if Providence had not ordered it otherwise.

K. James during part of the Action, stood at a little Old Church upon an Hill; but when he saw how matters went, he Marcht to Duleek, and from thence to Dublin; The first News at that place was. That K. James had got the Day, Our General was killed, and the P. of Orange (as they called him) taken Prisoner, that the French Fleet was in the Bay of Dublin; That a French Express was come from Waterford, with the News of taking the Isle of Wight by the French, and of their being gone to Dover: This was very afflicting to the poor Protestants, who were all confined to their Houses; but toward's night, some that had made their escape upon tyred Horses, brought word, That the Irish were much worsted, and others That they were Totally routed; near 10 a Clock that Night, K. J. came in with about 200 Horse all in Disorder; they concluded now, that it was an absolute Defeat, and that the English were just ready to come into the Town; but were greatly Surprised, when an hour or 2 after, they heard the whole Body of the Irish Horse

Horse coming in, in very good Order, with kettle Drums, Hautboys, and Trumpets; and early the next Morning, the French and a great part of the Irish Foot; who being a little rested, Marched out again to meet the English that were supposed to draw nigh.

When K. James came to the Castle Gate, the Lady Tyrconnel met him; and after he was up stairs, askt him what he would have for his Supper? Who then gave her an account, what a Breakfast he had got; which made him have but little Stomach to his Supper: Next Morning, July 2d. about 5 a Clock. K. J. sent for the Irish Lord Mayor, and some Principal Persons to the Castle, and told them; 'That in England, he had an Army which durst have fought; but they proved false, and Deserted him; 'and that here he had an Army which was Loyal enough; but would not stand by him, so that he was now necessitated to provide for his Safety, and that they should make the best Terms for themselves that they could, he told his Menial Servants, 'That he should now have no further occasion to keep such a Court as he had done; and that therefore they were at liberty to dispose of themselves; 'He desired them all to be kind to the Protestants, 'and not to burn or injure them nor the City, for though he quitted it, he did not quit his Interest in it; Immediately after he took Horse, and with about twelve in Company went towards Bray, and so to Waterford, having appointed his Carriages to meet him another way, where he imbarqued for France, having some days before distrusting the issue, Ordered Sir Patrick Trant to go from the Camp at the Boyn to Waterford, and provide Shipping. It is said, he did not sleep till he got on Ship-board; All that day nothing was to be seen in Dublin, but Officers, Carriages, and dusty wounded

ded Soldiers, with several of K. James's Horse-guards coming in stragling, without Pistols or Swords, and the Principal Popish Persons of the Town, their Wives and Families going away; The Gates were still kept by the Irish Militia, and the Castle by 250 of the Governors Foot Soldiers, who still threatened that before they left the City, they would burn and plunder it; This of a long time had been their talk (as we have heard) though K. James said, *It was a Report raised by the Protestants, to make him odious;* yet some Irish Persons of Note advised their Protestant Friends a few days before this, to leave the Town, because they would not be safe there.

The Protestants (some of whom were crowded into the Hospitals, Colledges and Churches, others into stinking, nasty, unhealthy Rooms) knew not yet what to think of themselves; but hoped the English were so near as to prevent their being burnt; but about 4 afternoon instead of them, they perceived the Irish Horse, which were drawn out in the Morning, and thought to be quite gone, entring the Town, followed by the French and Irish Foot in a full Body; Presently a Noise run through the City, that they were come to fire it; and the Papists who had secured themselves in Protestants Houses, began to look brisk again; but all these Forces Marched through the Town, without doing any injury, and were drawn up by Tyrconnel, on the further side of it, to March away; the Militia followed them, only the Governor remained, who at last resolved to March also, and drive 2 or 300 of the Principal Protestant Prisoners before him; but while they were preparing for this, a false Alarm was spread, that a Party of English being Landed at the Harbour, were just at the Towns end, it was too dusky to discover the Truth, and they had not time to send a Messenger; but in haff shifted for them-

themselves. The Protestants now began to look out, (whom the Irish had released, not out of love to them; but for fear the English were at their Heels) yet knew not well in what condition they were; but venturing to the Castle, they found Captain Farlow, who had been Prisoner there; keeping Garrison alone, upon which, Captain Fitz Gerald and several others who had been Prisoners, went and staid there all Night; still they were unsafe, and had no Arms; Early next morning July 3. the Protestants run about to the Papists Houses, demanding their Arms, who being quite dispirited, delivered them without dispute; and the Bishop of Meath, Dr King, and several other Principal Protestants sent away an Express to K. William, that the Town was at liberty, desiring his Majesties Presence and Protection, and began to Form a Protestant Militia; Till Thursday July 3. in the Afternoon they heard not a word of the English Army, and reports were raised, that the French and Irish were coming back, which much damp'd the Protestants; but this was soon blown over, and they now perceived themselves to be free, which filled their Hearts with so much joy, that they run about Saluting and Imbracing one another, and Blessing God for this wonderful Deliverance, as if they had been raised from the Dead: The Streets were filled with Crouds and Shouts, and the Papists were now under the same Terrors that they had been in some days before: At 8 that Night, one Troop of English Dragoons came as a Guard to an Officer, who was sent to take charge of the Stores, it is impossible to express the rejoicing of the People at sight of them, they hung about the Horses, and were ready to pull the Men off, and hug them in their Arm, as they Marched up to the Castle.

The Night after the Battel, the English lay upon their

their Arms at Duleek, and next Morning a Party were sent to fetch the Lents and Baggage from beyond the Boyn, and another Party of 1000 Horse and Dragoons, and 300 Foot, and 8 pieces of Cannon, Marcht to Summon Droghedah; The Governor received the first Summons very indifferently; but being Threatned that if he forced the Cannon to be fired on them, they should have no Quarter: Thereupon he believing that the Irish Army was totally Routed, Surrendred upon Condition, to be Conducted to Athlone, there being about 1300 of them, who Marched out without Arms, according to Agreement.

July 3. K. William Marcht forward, and was met at Bally Brigham, by one Mr. Saunders from the Protestants of Dublin, with a Tender of their Allegiance: The D. of Ormond Marched thither with 1000 Horse, and the Dutch Guards took possession of the Castle, and 2 days after his Majesty came to Finglas, within 2 Miles of Dublin, 300 Citizens coming to wait upon, and welcom him and his Army, and abundance of People flockt from all places to see the Camp, and their Great Deliverer, whose just Merits found Commendations from his very Enemies; and whose Soul is not Subject to fear, or any thing that is below a Prince; and who is only faulty in exposing his Royal Person too far. On Sunday, His Majesty went to St. Patricks Church in Dublin, and returned to his Camp to Dinner, and on Munday, the Bishops and Clergy Presented a very Loyal Address. the Bishop of Meath making a Speech, telling his Majesty, 'That they came not to beg his Protection, for he had given sufficient Demonstrations of his Affection toward them, by venturing his Royal Person for their Deliverance; but they came to Congratulate his Arrival, to pray for the Continuance of his good Success, and to give

' give his Majesty all the Assurance imaginable of  
 ' their Loyalty and Obedience, intreating him not  
 ' to think the worse of them for staying in Ireland,  
 ' and Submitting to a Power, that it was impossible  
 ' for them to Resist, since they had been as Service-  
 ' able to his Majesties Interest by staying, as they  
 ' could have been otherwise, &c. The King made  
 answer; ' That as he had by the Blessing of God  
 ' Succeeded so far, he doubted not; but by Gods  
 ' Assistance, to free them absolutely, and that in  
 ' a short time, from Popish Tyranny, which was  
 ' his design in coming: They then desired his Maje-  
 sties leave to appoint a day of Publick Thanksgiving,  
 which was done accordingly.

The Irish went away in such haste, that they left  
 16000 l. in brass Money in the Treasury, and a great  
 quantity of French Souses; of the first of which,  
 K. James coined above eleven Hundred Thousand  
 Pound; The half Crowns of which were now  
 cryed down for pence: Yet this did not grate so  
 heavily upon the People, as his late taking away  
 all the Protestant Staple Goods, as Wool, Hydes, and  
 Tallow, to send to France, in exchange for Wine and  
 Linnen for his Army; Their Tanned Leather was  
 also taken away, for the use of the Soldiers: The  
 Revenue he raised otherwise, was by a Subsidy gran-  
 ted by Parliament, of Twenty Seven Thousand  
 Pound a Month, for 13 Months; which fell sever-  
 ely upon the Protestants, who were forced to pay  
 ready Mony, though by Plundring they were gene-  
 rally deprived of their Stocks, Rents and Incomes;  
 and to shew what future Security they were like to  
 have for their Estates; K. James by Proclamation,  
 under pretence of his Prerogative Royal, laid a Tax  
 of 20000 l. a Month for 3 Months upon Goods  
 and Chattels, that granted by Parliament, being on-  
 ly upon Land; this way of Leavying Money, start-  
 led

every body, the pretended Parliament was then in being, and adjourned till Jan. 12. 1689. which happened to be about the very time when the K. and his Council were upon this Project; some in the Council opposed it, alledging, ' There was no need of levying Money by extraordinary ways, when it might be had otherwise; and that it would cause his Enemies to say, that he affected Arbitrary Power, but he was very angry with those that spake against it, saying, ' That they had made him believe it was a branch of his Prerogative to levy Money, and if he could not do that he could do nothing. And thereupon Popish Commissioners were appointed to assess it, who never failed to lay the greatest burden upon their Protestant Neighbours; who in effect paid all the Taxes that K. James ever receiv'd in Ireland.

July 7. K. William published a Declaration, assuring all Labourers, Soldiers, Farmers, Ploughmen and Courtiers; as also all Citizens, Tradesmen, Townsmen, and Artificers, of his Royal Protection, who should return to their Abodes by Aug. 1. and deliver their Arms to the Justices of Peace, and that they should be secured in their legal Rights, Goods, Stocks and Chattels &c. The next day the King took a view of his Army by distinct Regiments, and thought it rained very fast, yet His Majesty sat on Horseback in the midst of it. It was observable, that with heat, dust and marching, most of the Soldiers had got very sore Lips, nor was His Majesty himself exempt from this inconvenience, for he had toil'd and laboured as much as the best of them. July 9. The King had an account of the misfortune of the English and Dutch Fleets; and at the same time he divided his Army, going himself with the greatest part Westward, and sending Lieut. Gen. Douglas with 3 Regiments of Horse, 2 of Dragoons, and 10 of Foot toward Athlone, about 50 miles from Dublin. In their march they took 2 Spies with Letters from Athlone; one was to advise one Tute to defend an Island nigh Mullingar, in which the Governor had store of Horses, and other things of value. Another Letter was from an Officer at Athlone to his Father in the Country; telling him, ' That the Ld Tyrconnel, D. of Berwick, and several other Great Officers were come to Lymerick with a good Body of Horse, and that all their Army would be there in 2 or 3 days, so that they would make either a Hog or a Dog of it (as he exprest it) That the Dauphin was landed in England with a great Army; That the French had beat the English and Dutch Fleets; That D. Schomberg was dead, and it was said the Prince of Orange was so too; That their King was gone to France, but it was no great matter where he was, for they were better without him. Then he advised his Father not to take a Protection from the English, because those that did so, were lookt upon as Enemies: And after his Letter was sealed,

h. had writ on the outside, 'Just now we have an account from a Gentleman that is come to us from Dublin, that Orange is certainly dead; so that all will be well again. Such were their hopes and expectations at that time; yet we find that the Irish had a mean opinion of K. James; some of them saying, ' That he is fitter to be a Monk than a King: and Sirsheld sometime afterward speaking of the Action at the Boyn, swore, ' If the English would change Kings, they would fight it over again and beat us. The material is the courage and countenance of the Chief Commander in an Army, especially a King, which makes his Nobility, Genius and Officers strive to imitate his example, by which he is deserved, and commonly more fortunate.'

July 17. The Army encamped within a mile of Athlone, the Enemy playing the great Guns on them as they marched with little damage. The General sent a Drum to Summon the Town, but Col. Grace the Governor fired a Pistol at him, and sent word, These were the Terms he was for: Upon which the English were contriving to raise Batteries; But the Enemy having made Provision for their coming, and Lieut: Gen. Douglas not having Cannon large enough to endamage the Town, and also very little Bread, it was resolved by a Council of War to remove from the Town, which was done at 12 at Night with all their Baggage, the Enemy not so much as firing one Gun at them, and soon after they joyn'd the King's Army.

July 9. His Majesty encamp'd at Cromlin 2 miles West of Dublin, where he settled the method of granting Protections to those Irish that would submit to the Government; and gave Orders that upon pain of Death no Soldier should dare Plunder the Country, or any protected Person, nor to take violently the least value from either Protestant or Papist; abuses of this kind having been lately complained of. Two days after, the King passing by the Ness, saw a Soldier robbing a poor Woman, which enraged His Majesty so much, that he beat him with his Cane, and Commanded that he, and others, found guilty of the like disobedience, should be Executed; which had so good effect upon that Army, that no Pilfering happened for a long time after. The K. had notice in his march of the confusion of the Enemy, and their resort to Limerick; and People from Kilkenny gave an account, That some Irish Horse and Foot were there still, but with thoughts of quitting it upon our approach; which they did, after having forced the Inhabitants to give them a Sum of Money to save the Town from Plundering; Upon which a Party of Horse under the D<sup>r</sup> of Ormond went to take possession of the place. July 19. The K. dined with the D<sup>r</sup>. at his Castle of Kilkenny, which Count Lauzun had preserved with all the Furniture in a good Condition, the Cellars being well furnish'd with

vine, which they had not time to drink at their going off; Col. E-  
ngler was sent from thence with 1000 Horse and Dragoons to se-  
ize the Town of Wexford, which was deserted by the Irish Garri-  
son: As also Clonmel, whither Count Schomberg marched with a  
body of Horse, being one of the strongest Towns in Ireland, & cost  
Cromwell 2000 men in taking it; the Irish pretended to defend it  
now, and levelled the Suburbs and Hedges; but at length march'd  
off, having got 300 l. of the People, to secure it from burning and  
plunder. July 22. Maj. Gen. Kirk sent a Trumpet to Summon the  
Town of Waterford to surrender, which they refused in very civil  
Terms; but at length on the 25. they delivered it up on Articles, and  
at the same time the strong Fort of Duncannon 7 miles below Wa-  
terford was surrendered upon the like terms; The K. went into Wa-  
terford, and took care that none should be disturbed in their Persons  
or Goods. At the King's return to his Camp. His Majesty held a  
Council, where he declared his resolution to go for Engl. upon some  
accounts he had from thence, leaving Count Solms Commander in  
Chief; But a few days after having advice from England that the  
French were gone off the Coast, and had only burnt a small Village  
in the West, His Majesty resolved to return to the Army and Aug. 8.  
the L. Portland and Brigadier Stuart were sent toward Lymerick  
with about 1100 Horse & Foot, and the next day the whole Army  
advanced; The K. having ordered their several Posts, sent a Trum-  
per to Summon the Town: it seems a great part of the Garrison were  
for surrendring it, but Mons. Boiscaen the French Governor, the D.  
of Berwick, and Col. Sarsfield much oppos'd it telling the Soldiers,  
'That there were great Divisions & Insurrections in England, That  
the Dauphin was landed there with 50000 men, and that the P. of  
Orange would be obliged soon to draw home his Army to Eng-  
land. The Trumpeter was sent back from Mons. Boiscaen with a  
Letter directed to Sir R. Southwell Secretary of State, not sending  
directly to the King, because, it is thought, he wculd avoid giving  
him the Title of Majesty; 'That he wa. surprized at the Summons,  
'and that he thought the best way to gain the P. of Orange's good  
opinion, was by a vigorous defence of that Town which his Maj-  
esty had intrusted him withal. The next morning a Cornet deserted  
the Enemy, who told K. William, 'That a great many were for  
surrendring; That Count Leuzun with the French were encampt  
nigh Galloway, the Irish refusing to receive them into the Town,  
because themselves had done so some time before at Lymerick;  
'That Tyrconnel with most of the Irish Horse, and some Foot, were  
encamped about 8 nites on the other side of Lymerick; That  
there were 14 Regiments of Foot, 3 of Horse, and 2 of Dragoons  
then in the Town.

**This City** is very strong, both by Nature and Art, and the inhabitants had

had now added some new Fortifications to it. In 1651. Lieut. Gen. Ireton laid Siege to it for several Months, and did not take it at last for it was in some measure betray'd to him, by one Col. Stennel, and others of the Irish who against the Governors content, received in at 300 men, thereby getting Possession of the Town ; Ireton hanged the Mayor, and several others that were still for defending it.

When His Majesty sat down before Lymerick, he had only a Field-Train of Artillery, because some imagined the Town would have surrendered upon Summons : But it being refused, Six Cannon called Pounders, two 18 Pounders, a great quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, tin Boats, and abundance of other materials, were upon the Road from Dublin, under the Convoy of 2 Troops of Col. Villars Horse, of which Sarsfield having intelligence by a French Gunner who went over to the Enemy, he passed the River in the Night with a Body of Horse ; for being satisfied that if this Train arrived before Lymerick it would not be able to hold it, he resolved to run the hazard of destroying them ; If he succeeded, he broke our measures ; if not, he designed for France, as he afterward declared. The K. had notice of his march, and to prevent the worst, ordered 500 Horse to march and meet the Guns, but by some neglect in the Officers, it was 1 or 2 a Clock in the morning before the Party marched, which they then did very slowly, till about an hour after they saw a great light in the Air, and heard a strange rumbling noise, which they imagined to be the blowing up of the Train, as really it was : For on Sunday night, Aug. 11. the Guns lay at Cael, and on Monday they marched beyond Cullen to a little old ruinous Castle called Ballemedy, not 7 miles from the Camp, and being so near, did not fear an Enemy, especially having no notice, and therefore being weary of marching, had turn'd most of their Horses to grass, leaving a very slender Guard, and the greatest part went to sleep ; but some never awaked in this World, for Sarsfield lurking among the Mountains all the day, & being guided through by-ways to the very spot, he unawares fell in upon them, and cut several to pieces, with some Waggoners and Country People that were coming to the Camp with Provisions. The Chief Officer seeing how it was, Commanded to Sound to Horse, but those that went to fetch them up, were killed by the way ; The Officers and others after the best resistance they could make, were forc't to shift for themselves, with loss of Horses and Goods, a Lieutenant and some few Troopers were kill'd, in all about 60. The Irish got what Horses they could, some broke the Boats, others the Guns, and drawing all the Carriages and Waggons, with Bread and Ammunition together in an heap, what they could not carry away, they laid a Train and fired at their going off, blowing up all with an astonishing noise, whereby every thing that would burn was reduced to

The Party of Horse that were sent against them came when the business was over, in sight of the Enemies Reer, but wheeling toward the Left to intercept their passage over the Shannon, they unhappily went another way: This was very unwelcome News in the Camp; however the Siege went on, and several more Gans were planted, and Firings continued briskly from divers Batteries.

Aug. 12. Brigadier Stuart went with a Detachement of Men and Field-pieces toward Castle Connell, upon whose approach, the Garrison consisting in 126 surrendered, and were brought Prisoners to the Camp. Aug. 19. Our Batteries plaid upon the Walls and Houses of Limerick, and the K. riding tortly up toward Cromwel's Fort, as his Horse was entring a Gap, a Gentleman stay'd His Majesty to speak with him, and in that very moment a great Cannon Bullet was shot into that very place, which would have struck His Majesty and Horse too all in pieces, if his usual good Argel had not defended him; yet it raised the dust all about him, of which He took little notice, but alighting came and layed him down on the Fort among all the Dust. Aug. 20. A brisk Attack was made by Col. Cutt's Granadiers, who with some others made themselves Masters of a Fort near St. John's Gate; After which the Enemy sallied out of the Town, and a very hot Action happened, but the Irish was at length beat back into the Town with the loss of 300 men; of ours 58 Foot were kill'd and 140 wounded, of Horse 21 kill'd and 52 wounded. Aug. 23. A Truce was made for burying the Dead on both sides. We found a French Officer wounded and his Horse lying upon him, and yet he was alive and recovered, tho' he lay from Wednesday to Saturday. A Chaplain in the Army happened to go down after the Fort was taken, and seeing a Trooper as he thought mortally wounded, he went to give him good Advice, which the other was very thankful for; In the mean time comes the Sally, and our Horse came thundering down, at which the Clergyman hastening away fell down; The wounded Trooper seeing him fall, thought he had been dead, and went to strip him, having soon got off his Coat, at which the other called to him to hold, asking him what he meant; 'Sir, says the Trooper, I beg your Pardon, for I believed you were kill'd, and therefore I thought my self obliged to take care of your Cloaths, as well as you did of my Soul.'

Aug. 27. A Breach, about 12 yards long and pretty flat, being made nigh St. John's Gate, the K. gave order for attacking the Counterscarp tht Afternoon, which was done by 500 Granadiers, and some other Regiments of Foot and Horse, with much resolution. The Irish having all their Gans ready, discharged great and small shot among them abundantly, and our Men were not behind in either, so that in 2 Minutes the noise was so terrible, as if the

Skies had rent asunder, which was seconded with dust, smoke and all the terrors that the Art of Man could invent to ruin and undo one another, the excessive heat making it yet more uneasie. The Granadiers threw in their Granadoes, and afterward got upon the Counterscarp: Upon which the Irish were throwing down their Arms, and running into the Town with all speed; which our Men perceiving, entred the breach. Pell mell upon them, and above half the E. of Drogheda's Granadiers, and some others were actually in the Town; the Regiments that were to second the Granadiers went to the Counterscarp, and having no Order to go further stopped. The Irish were all running from the Walls, and quite over the Bridge into the English Town, but seeing only a few of our Men enter, they were with much ado perswaded to rally; Those English that were in, seeing themselves not followed, and their Ammunition being spent, designed to retreat again, but some were shot, others taken, and very few came out again unwounded. The Irish then ventured on the Breach again, & from the Walls and all other places severely pestered those on the Counterscarp for 3 hours together with Bullets, Stones, and broken Bottles, even from the very Women, who boldly stood in the breach, and were nearer our Men than their own; So that the Ammunition of the Besiegers being spent, they thought it safest to return to their Trenches. In the heat of the Attack the Brandenburg Regiment, who behaved themselves very well, were got upon the Black Battery, where the Enemies Powder happened to take fire, and blow up a great many of them, the Men, Faggots, Stones, &c. flying into the Air with a dreadful noise. From half an hour after 3 till 7 there was one continued Fire of both great and small shot without intermission, insomuch that the smoke from the Town reached in one continual Cloud to the top of a Mountain at least 6 miles off; when our Men retreated, some were brought out of the Trenches dead, others without a Leg or Arm, and several Blind with Powder, and among them a great many Brandenburgers who lookt like Furies with the Gun-Powder. The King stood nigh Cromwell's Fort all the time, and afterward went to his Camp much concerned, as well as the whole Army, a mixture of Anger and Sorrow appearing in all their Faces. We lost at least 500 upon the place, and had 1000 more wounded. We kill'd a great number of the Irish by our Cannon, but it cannot be thought their loss should be equal to ours, having the advantage of the Walls to defend themselves. The Soldiers were desirous of a second Attack, seeming resolved to have the Town, or dye every man; but they did not know the scarcity of our Ammunition, and besides it began to rain, and the next day rained very fast; so that it was resolved by a Council of War the Siege should be raised. We found some difficulty in getting off our Cannon

Cannon, the Ways were so soft with the wet, and we also oblig'd to draw them off with Oxen, the Enemy having taken part of our Train-Horses, which was one main reason of raising the Siege. In a day or two after Monsieur Boisleau the Governor of Limerick made a Speech to the Irish, telling them, "That with much ado he had persuad'd them to defend the Town, which with God's help they had done; but assured them, It was not Fear, but Prudence and Policy that had made the English quit the Siege, as appeared by their slow marches; and woul'd told them his Opinion, That the next time the Enemy came they woul'd have it; which said, he took leave, and went to the French Forces then at Galloway, and designed for France.

The day the Siege was raised, the K. went to Waterford, and thence to England, leading the Lord Sidney and Tho. Comingsby Esq; to the Camp with a Commission to be Lord Justice. Sept 8. The Lord Lisburn went before Killmalk, being a Garrison of 300 Men, which upon the approach of our Forces yielded on the first Summons: Nighah Castle hiving done the like sometime before to Major General Ginkle. Sept. 21. The E. of Marlborough landed near Cork with several Forces, and was joyn'd by Major General Scavenmore and others, who presently invested the Town, and soon after made a breach in the Walls; so that after seven days Siege the Garrison surrendered upon Articles. Oct. 2. The Earl of Marlborough marcht thence to Kingstale; the Town was presently delivered; he then sent a Summons to the Governour to surrender up the Forts, who returned answer, That it would be time enough to talk of a Surrender a month hence; upon this several Batteries were raised against the old, and afterward the new Fort, which played with such success, that they were both delivered up. Oct. 15. Following; After the taking these two Places, part of the Irish Army in Kenny made several Incursions, and burnt all the Towns and Villages of the Counties of Limerick and Cork, and the Enemies gave leave to several Protestants to come from Limerick, where all Provisions were very scarce. In Novemb. General Ginkle returns to Dublin. In Decemb. several Rapperees were got to the end of the Bog of Allen, about 12 miles from Dublin, it being about 40 miles in length, and having several woody Islands from whence they plundered all the adjacent Country; but Coll. Fouks drove them from their Posts: Several small Skirmishes happened in the Winter between the English and the Rapperees, wherein the first obtained divers notable advantages; though generally their Parties were much inferior to the Enemy, which was a great disheartning to them.

May 7. 1691. The whole Army took the Field under General Ginkle, and the Irish were busie in making preparations for their defence

defence, having a new French General named St. Ruth sent them, who issued out all Orders in K. Lewis's name, and required the Irish Officers to take new Commissions under the French King, in prosecution of the design of subjecting Ireland to France. The first place the English attempted was Ballymore, seated upon an high Tongue of Irens Land, jutting out into a Lake, and strengthened with several Fortifications; five Batteries were raised against it, and the next morning the General sent a Messenger to the Governour, "That if the Garrison would surrender within two hours, he would save their lives, and receive them as Prisoners of War; if not, that they should expect no Quarter: The Governour would not return a direct Answer, in hopes of better Terms; Whereupon severall breaches were made, which put them into such a Confirmation, that divers white Flags were hung out, and May 9 the Garrison surrendered, out of which marched above 1000 Souldiers and Rapparees, and about 600 Women and Children.

June 18. The Army marched from Ballymore, and the next day came before Athlone, and thought it very strange to see none but French Colours in four parts of an Irish Garrison: A Battery of ten Guns was instantly planted, which were so well directed, that in a few hours the Bastion against which they played was laid in Ruines, and thereupon General Ginkle ordered an Assault to be made: The Enemy seemed at first resolved to have maintained the Breach, but upon sight of the Hand-granadoes they fled in great confusion to the other side of the Town, which was divided by a River; so that the English had nothing to do but to enter, not 20 of our Men being wounded, and some few slain: One part of the Town being thus taken, the Cannon played with great Execels upon the Castle and the Enemies Works on the other side the River, the Irish having broken down the Stone-Bridge: But the General resolved to ford the River to get to them, and accordingly June 30. the Signal being given by ringing the Church-Bell 1500 Granadiers, with whom M. G. Talmash went that day as Voluntier, entered the Water, the Enemy at first fired very finarly, but the English wading up to the breasts in Water with continual Huzzazing, advanced under the smoak and shelter of their own Cannon, and coming to the other side, they threw their Granadoes so furiously, that the Enemy abandoned their Posts and Trenches, and in less than h'lf an hour we were entirely Masters of the Town, with all the Enemies Works, and the Ruins of the Castle: M. G. Moyle, and divers other Officers, with 200 common Souldiers were taken Prisoners, and near 1200 kill'd on the place, besides severall Officers of note, the rest escaped over the Ramparts and fled to the Enemies Camp, from whence some Battalions were coming to their relief; but meeting the Fugitives, and receiving a

where Salute from those Works which were so lately their own, they retreated to their Camp; The English in this unparalleled Action had not above 20 slain and 30 wounded.

The Irish Army upon reducing the Town, decamped in the night and retreated ten Miles off, the English followed them, and having passed a River that lay between them and the Enemy near Agrim, after some Skirmishing they drove in their Out-Guards, the English Cannon having in the mean time dislodged the Rebels Horse from the end of a narrow Lane that leads to Agrim: The Irish drew down great Bodies of Horse and Foot from their Camp, which was advantageously placed, and strongly posted behind the high Banks that lay one beyond another, and fell upon the Left Wing of the English, and had a warm Dispute with our Foot for two hours, but at last the Rebels gave ground, notwithstanding new Supplies of Horse and Foot were continually sent to relieve and second those that gave way, but the English Courage surmounted all dangers, who charged so bravely up the Hills upon the Squadrons of the Enemy, that they put them to an absolute Rout, and pursued them about four Miles, the Night preventing them from following farther, it being six in the Evening before they Engaged, and eight before they took their flight: The Irish were never known to fight with more Resolution, especially the Foot; but it was their last Effort wherein the gasping Honour of the choice of all the Catholick Nobility and Gentry in the Kingdom strove to do their utmost: And besides, their number was much superior to ours, being no less than 20000 Foot, and 8000 Horse and Dragoons, with all the advantage imaginable that the situation of ground could afford them; so that nothing but the Blessing of God and the superior Valour and Conduct of the English could have wrested such a compleat Victory out of their hands: Of the Enemy 8000 were slain upon the place, and among them the French General St Ruth, who was kill'd by a Cannon Bullet, the Lord Galloway, and several others of Quality; about 500 were taken Prisoners, among whom were the principal Commanders in the Army, with 12 Standards and 30 Colours.

After the Battle the General sent Brigadier Epinger with 1000 Horse and Dragoons to seize Portumney, where the Rebels had a great Magazine of Provisions, who soon possest himself of it; and the next day the Fort and Castle of Boscawen surrendered, whereby the English became Masters of all the Passes upon the Shannon except Limerick, and those within 8 Miles of it. July 17. The Army came before Galloway, and the General sent a Trumpet to the Lord Dillon Governor of the Town, that he should have Quarter and Pardon pursuant to the Lords Justices Proclamation, which he sent him if he surrendere before the Cannons were brought to

fire upon the Garrison, His Answer was, ' That Monsr. d'Uffse, who commanded, was of the same Opinion with him and the rest of the Officers ; and that they resolved to defend the Place to the last ; Upon which the English instantly made their approaches with such vigour, that they took a Fort upon an Hill which commanded a Valley between them and the Town without the loss of one Man, and then crost over the River in two Boats so suddenly, that the Enemy were frighted into a Treaty : Balderick O Donnel who designed to throw his Brigade into the place, being prevented of his intentions by the prudent management of the General ; so that July 26. the City of Galloway was actually surrendered ; Monsieur d'Uffse according to his desire, marching out *incognito* some hours before. August 25. The Army came before Lymetick, and soon after several Batteries were raised against the City : The General hearing that some Regiments of the Enemies Horse, and Rapparees were drawn together in Kerry, about sixteen Miles off, he sent away Brigadier Levison with Five hundred Horse and Dragoons in pursuit of them, which they did so effectually, that few of them escaped. The English at the Siege advanced to Cromwell's Fort, the Enemy quitting both that and their Line of Communication to the Church, and returned to their Retrenchments near the Town. About the same time the Earl of Tyrconnel died, as was certainly said, out of anguish of mind, to see the ruinous condition of his Masters Affairs ; and was buried at Lymetick. The General having notice that Coll. Henry Luttrell was seized by order of the French Lieutenant General d'Uffse, for having made some Proposals for a Surrender, and that he was sentenced to death by a Court Martial, he sent word to the Monsieur by a Trumpet, That if any Man were put to death for having a mind to come over to the English, he would revenge it double upon the Irish Prisoners ; which prevented his death : Several Forts and Castles about the Town were daily taken in, and the Batteries play'd continually upon the City, which sent on fire in divers places, and ruined the Walls and Castle : About the same time the Irish having put between two and three hundred Protestants into a little Island in the Shannon under a sufficient Guard, their sad and starved condition so moved the compassion of the Irish Officers who guarded them, and were also desirous to go over to the English, that they sent to Major Stroud, who was posted hard by with some of that Militia, to let him know their Intentions ; Upon which the Major went over with a Party in small Boats, and brought away both the Guards and Prisoners, who were almost starved for want of food, in a place where they had only two pitiful Huts to shelter them from the Cold and Rain.

Sept. 8. A great Battery of 22 Pieces of Cannon began to play very early in the Morning, and in a short time made a breach above thirty yards in the English Town, and firing without intermission, made terrible havock, dismounting the Enemies Cannon, set the English Town several times on fire, and laid the greatest part in rubbish: Some of the Bombs fell into the Enemies Stores burnt two of their Magazines of Bisket, one of Brandy, and one of Powder, so that they were forc'd to remove the remainder into the Irish Town.

Sept. 15. The Lord Lisburn was killed by a Cannon-Ball, and two days after Siegg was taken by the Earl of Granard, the Garrison consisting of five or six hundred Men, who left in the place sixteen Pieces of Cannon, thirty Barrels of Powder with Shot and Provisions proportionable. One Captain Taaffe came out of Limerick to the English, and informed the General that the English Town was utterly ruined; that the Cannon and Bombs had killed a great number of the Garrison who were reduced to Six thousand Foot, and very ill clad.

General Ginkie having resolved that part of the Army should pass the Shannon, and remove the Irish Horse which lay in the County of Clare, and so shut up the Town on that side; to conceal his design, he ordered the heavy Cannon to be drawn off, and shipt, and quitted several Castles as if he intended to raise the siege, which the Enemy observing, expressed sehr Joy by loud and repeated Shouts: But the same night the Pontins were secretly laid over the Shannon, and by break of day the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, and a Detachment of Horse passed the River undiscovered: Brigadier Clifford lay with four Regiments of Dragoons to have prevented their Landing, but when he perceived they were got over, he brought down all his Men on foot (their Horses being at Grass) to make what opposition they could, but were presently routed, and so hast threw away their Arms, leaving behind them all their Tents, Baggage, Saddles, and other Accoutrements, with two Pieces of Cannon and a Standard. These frequent Successes much intimidated the Enemy, and the French that were in Limerick had some time before endeavoured to get away, but a Squadron of English and Dutch men of War, and the Provision and Ammunition Ships from Kingsale; being by the Generals Orders come into the Shan on, they returned back again, but a Vessel on Board which were St. Ruths goods and plunder, attempting to get out of the Shannon, was taken by one of their Majesties Frigates.

Septem. 22. The General passed the Shannon with a strong Party of Horse, Dragoons and Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon; who were drawn up before the Irish Town, notwithstanding the continual fire of the Enemy; and then Ordred them to attack the Fort that secured

# The History of the

Secured Thomond Bridge : The Besieged at the same time sending a great Detachments to enforce and second the Irish that defended it. However, the English went on with such courage and bravery that they beat them from their works, and forc't them to fly toward the Town ; but the Governour fearing the Victorious English would enter with them, durst not let down the Draw-bridge to receive them ; which occasioned a great slaughter of the vanquish'd Irish, so that nothing was to be seen from the foot of Thomond Bridge to the Draw-bridge but heaps of dead bodies ; 600 of the Enemy were slain, and 130 taken Prisoners, and among them many several great Officers. Whilst the conflict endured the Irish played very furiously with their great and small shot ; and the mettal of the English precipitating them too far, exposed them to the Enemies fire, whereby many more were killed than would have been otherwise ; so that near 300 were slain and wounded though not any one of remark ; The next day afternoon the Enemy beat a Parley on both sides the River, and desired a truce to be continued for three days that they might send to their Horse which lay about Clare to know upon what conditions they desired to be comprehended in the Capitulation.

Sept. 25. Colonel Sheldon and other Irish Officers came into the English Camp, and from thence to Limerick ; The next day Sarsfield and Nechip dined with the General, and the Ld Cutts, and Sir David Collier, Coll. Tiffany, and Coll. Piper were sent as Hostages into the Town, and four Irish Lords remained in the Camp as Hostages for the Garrison.

Sept. 27, The Irish sent them out their Proposals, which the General not approving, instead of an Answer sent back 12 other Articles, which was all he would allow them, and at the same time gave Orders for the great Guns and Mortars to be ready if they refused to consent to them ; who seeing the Generals resolution, and finding no other remedy, at length Octo. 3. the Articles of Capitulation were signed ; consisting of 2 parts, The first relating to Civil Affairs which were signed by the Lord Justices, the General, and the Persons deputed by the Garrison ; The other in reference to Military Affairs, which were subscribed by the Generals on both sides : Such of the French and Irish as had a mind to pass the Seas, were to have Liberty for their present convenience to stay in the English Town and Island till they could be shipt away, and the Castles of Ross, Clare, with all other Places and Castles that were then in possession of the Irish, were forthwith to be delivered to the English : In pursuance of this Agreement, one Gate of the Town was delivered up that Evening, and the next day the Lord Cutts marched into the Irish Town, and took possession of it with seven Regiments of Foot.

At this very time news came that divers French Men of War with

with Transport Ships, were on the Coasts, and endeavoured to put into some places distant from Lymerick, either not knowing the Harbours, or being uncertain how affairs stood there, but at length, it seems, they had certain knowledge that Lymerick had submitted and upon what Terms: and one Article being, That such of the Irish and French as had a mind to leave the Kingdom and go to France might stay to expect a free Passage thither without disturbance; the French being hereby assured not to be attacked by our Men of War they boldly appeared on the Coasts of Kerry, being about twenty five Men of War, and twenty five Transport Ships with some Fire-Ships, having aboard 1000 Arms, Wine, Brandy and other Provisions. And that it might be thought their design in coming was only to carry off the French and Irish that were unwilling to stay, Monsieur D'Uffen the late French Gouvernour, took the first opportunity to give notice of them to M. G. Talmash, who was appointed by the General to command in Lymerick: whereupon it being judged most convenient that they should Transport themselves in French Ships, than to trust ours in the Enemies Port: The Transport Ships were admitted to come into the River Shannen, but the Men of War and Fire ships to keep out at Sea, and those Transport-Ships to have Liberty to take on board such as would freely imbarke.

But the Irish Noblemen and Gentlemen having been made too sensible of the French infidelity in their own Country, resolved not to trust to their kindness in France, and therefore many of them, as well as some Chiefs of the Rapparees, came in, and freely took the Oath of Fidelity to their Majesties. But others being promised great advantages in France, were persuaded by Sarsfield, Sheldon, and other Commanders, to imbarke with them, and make their Fortunes in the service of the Late K. James. Nov. 1. The Irish intirely left the English Town of Lymerick, and part of them went aboard the French Ships, one of which that carried 400 Men, with several valuable goods, ran upon a Rock, and about 100 were drowned.

Dec. 22. The remainder of the Irish being about 2600 Men, Women and Children were by Sarsfield imbarqued from Cork to France, though he thought to have carried off a far greater number, but several whole Regiments deserted him upon advice of the ill Treatment the Irish already landed in France had received, where the Officers were generally dislaced or made to serve in lower Stations, and French men put over their heads: After this Coll. Fox the Gouvernour of Dublin had Orders to disband the Irish Regiments that came over to us upon the surrender of Lymerick, except 1400. who were sent into the service of the Emperor of Germany.

Ireland being thus happily reduced to the Obedience of their Majesties, General Ginkel wens to Dublin where he and the rest of the gai-

Last Commanders were received with a general joy and the highest marks of respect to their merits, who had been so serviceable to the Kingdom; Soon after the General embarked for England and was received very graciously by Their Majesties, and created Earl of Athlone, the Parliament likewise sending their thanks to him for his good services desiring him to command; are the same to all the Officers that served under him in the Expedition. And he together with them, was highly entertained with an able Treat by the City of London.

The Lords Justices were very diligent to settle matters in Ireland, which now began to breath again, after such ruins and devastations as had been made by the brutish Irish. And the Parliament in England abrogated the Oath of Allegiance in that Kingdom and ordered another Oath to be taken; Sir David Collier was made Governor of Limerick.

In August 1692. The Ld. Vis. Sydney being constituted Lt. Lieutenant of Ireland arrived there, and was received with loud peals of Cannon and Complimented by the Nobility and after having taken the Oath the sword was delivered to him, and the day ended with acclamations of Joy and Bonfires. And soon after his Excellency issued out Writs for calling a Parliament in that Kingdom, who met accordingly, and his Excellency in an Eloquent Speech declared, 'The happiness they enjoyed by being restored to the great Priviledge, since the Kingdom could not so well be recovered to any degree of settlement legally as by a Parliament constituted and setled, and that he hoped they would make use of it to pass such Laws as might tend to the firm settlement of the Country upon the Protestant Interest, and that it would be a great satisfaction to his Majesty to see them established in peace and prosperity having had so great and glorious a part relating them from the calamities under which they laboured.'

After this the Commons presented their Speaker, and proceeded to swear their Members; They then ordered an Address of Thanks to be drawn up to his Majesty, and another to the Ld. Lieutenant, and then passed. 1. An Act of Recognition of Their Majesties undoubted Title to the Crown of Ireland: 2. For encouraging Protestant Strangers to settle in that Kingdom. 3. For an Additional Excise upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors, 4. For taking Affidavits in the Country. After which the Parliament was Prorogued to April, and from thence to Sept. 1693.

### A List of the Nobility in the Kingdom of Ireland. 1693.

**S**IR Charles Porter Kn.  
Lord Chancellor.

Dr. Mich. Boyle; Lord Arch-

bishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland.

Dr. Fr. March Archbishop of Dublin.

Dr.

Dr. Narcissus March, Arch-  
bishop of Cashell.

Dr. Joseph Vesey, Arch-  
bishop of Tuam.

Rich. Earl of Cork, Lord  
Treasurer.

D U K E S.

Butler Duke of Ormond.

Schomberg D. of Linster.

E A R L S.

Fitzgerald E. of Kildare.

O Bryon E. of Thomond.

Burk E. of Clanricard.

Touchett E. of Castlehaven.

Boyle E. of Cork.

Mc Donnel E. of Antrim.

Nugent E. of Westmeath.

Dillon E. of Roscommon.

Ridgeway E. of London-  
derry.

Feilding E. of Desmonde.

Brabazon E. of Meath.

Barry E. of Barrymore.

Vaughan E. of Carbury.

Plunkett E. of Fingale.

Chichester E. of Donnegall.

Lambert E. of Cavan.

O Bryan E. of Inchiquin.

Macarthy E. of Clancarty.

Boyle E. of Orrery.

Coote E. of Montrath.

Moore E. of Drogheda.

Talbot E. of Waterford  
and Wexford.

Montgomery E. of Mont-  
alexander.

Palmer E. of Castlemaine.

Taaffe E. of Carlingford.

Power E. of Tyrone.

Jones E. of Ranelagh.

Aungier E. of Longford.

Forbes E. of Granard.

Dungan E. of Lymerick.

Coote E. of Eallymore.

Ginkell E. of Athlone.

V I S C O U N T S.

Preston Vis. Gormanton.

Roch. Vis. Fermoy.

Butler Vis. Mountgarret.

Villiers Vis. Grandison.

Annesly Vis. Valentia.

Dillon Vis. Costello and  
Gallen.

Netterville Vis. Dowth.

Loftus Vis. Ely.

Beaumont Vis. Swords.

Magennis Vis. Iveagh.

Needham Vis. Kilmurry.

Sarsfield Vis. Kilmallock.

Burk Vis. Mayo.

Sanderson Vis. Castlelown

Chaworth Vis. Armagh.

Scudamore Vis. Sligoe.

Lumly Vis. Waterford.

Smith Vis. Strangford.

Wenman Vis. Tuam.

Molineux Vis. Maryborough.

Fairfax Vis. Enniscorthy.

Butler Vis. Kerrine.

Fitz-Will. Vis. Merryton.

O Dempsey Vis. Glenmalier.

Cockaine Vis. Cullen.

Tracey Vis. Rathcoole.

Smith Vis. Carrington of  
Barrefore.

Bul-

Bulkley Vis. Cashell.  
 Brounker Vis. Lyons.  
 Ogle Vis. Catherlogh.  
 Butler Vis. Galimoy.  
 Barnewall Vis. Kingsland.  
 Boyle Vis. Shannon.  
 Skevington Vis. Massereene.  
 Chalmondry Vis. Kells.  
 Fanshaw Vis. Dromore.  
 O Bryan Vis. Clare.  
 Trevor Vis. Dungannon.  
 Boyle Vis. Dungarven.  
 Berkely Vis. Fitzharding of  
 Beerhaven.  
 Caulfield Vis. Charlemont.  
 Wingfield Vis. Powerscourt.  
 Boyle Vis. Blessington.  
 Lane Vis. Lanesborough.  
 Dawney Vis. Down.  
 Parsons Vis. Ross.  
 Steward Vis. Monjoy.  
 Loftus Vis. Lisburne, Extinct.  
 Bourke Vis. Galway.  
 Brown Vis. Kenmare.  
 Mc. Garty Vis. Mountcashell.  
 Chievers Vis. M. Leinster.

B A R O N S.

Bermingham B. of Athenry.  
 Coursey B. of Kingsale.  
 Fitz-Morris B. of Kerry  
     and Lixnow.  
 Flemin Baron of Slane.  
 St. Lawrence B. of Howth.  
 Barnewall B. of Trunleston.  
 Plunkett B. of Duosany.  
 Butler B. of Dunboyne.

Fitzpatrick B. of Upper  
     Offory.  
 Plunkett Baron of Lowth.  
 Burke B. of Castle-Connell.  
 Butler Baron of Cahir.  
 Burk Baron of Brittas.  
 Steward Baron of Castle  
     Steward, Extinct.  
 Foliot B. of Ballyshannon.  
 Maynard B. of Wicklo.  
 George B. of Dundalk.  
 Digby Baron of Geashill.  
 Fitz-Williams B. of Lifford.  
 Blaney B. of Monaghan.  
 Malone B. of Glenmallum  
     and Courchy.  
 Herbert B. of Castle Island  
 Calvert B. of Baltimore.  
 Brereton B. of Loughlio.  
 Hare B. of Coleraine.  
 Sherard B. of Leitrim.  
 Magwive B. of Inniskilling.  
 Hamilton B. of Strabane.  
 Hawley B. of Ducannon.  
 Arrington B. of Killard.  
 King Baron of Kingston.  
 Barry Baron of Santry.  
 Annesly B. of Altham.  
 Bellow B. of Duleck.  
 Petty B. of Shelborne.  
 Fitton B. of Gawsworth.  
 Bourk B. of Bophin.  
 Nugent B. of Riverston.  
 Cutts B. of Gowran.  
 Coningesby B. of Clanbra-  
     zil.

## Archbishops in Ireland 4.

1 Armagh.	3 Cashel.
2 Dublin.	4 Tuam.

## Bishopricks 18.

1 Meath.	7 Clogher.	13 Cork.
2 Kildare.	8 Dromore.	14 Limerick.
3 Waterford.	9 Ossory.	15 Cloine.
4 Clowfert.	10 Derry.	16 Killalla.
5 Elphin.	11 Down.	17 Rapho.
6 Fernes and Ligin.	12 Killallow.	18 Kilmore.

## University 1. Dublin.

There are 32 Counties in Ireland out of which are returned  
in all 275 Parliament men.

A Catalogue of all the Lord Lieutenant's, Lord Deputies and  
Lord Justices of Ireland from 1603.

1603	Sir George Carie Treasurer,	Deputy	
1604	Arthur Chichester, Lord Belfast,	Deputy.	
1613	Tho. Jones Lord Archbisch. of Dublin	Justices	
	Sir Rich. Wingfield.		L. Deputy
1614	Lord Belfast.		
	Lord Archbisch. of Dublin.	Justices	
1615	Sir John Denham.		L. Deputy
1616	Sir Oliver St. John,		
	Adam Loftus V. Ely.	Justices	
1622	Rich. Wingfield V. Poyerscourt.		L. Deputy
1622	Henry Cary V. Falkland		
1629	Adam Loftus V. Ely.	Justice	
	Richard Boyle E. of Cork.		L. Deputy
1633	Thomas V. Wentworth.		
1636	Adam Loftus V. Ely.	Justices	
	Ch. Wandesforde Esq Mr. of the Rolls		Lieutenant
1636	Thomas. V. Wentworth.		
1639	Rob. Dillon L. Kilkenny West	Justices	
	Charles Wandesford. Esq;		Lieutenant
1640	Tho Wentworth Earl of Strafford.		Deputy
1640	Charles Wandesforde Master of Rolls		Sir Wil-

1641	Sir William Parsons	Justices
	Sir John Burlace, Mr. of the Ordinance	
1642	Sir John Burlace	Justices
	Sir Henry Tichburn.	
1643	James Butler Marq Ormond	Lieutenant
1654	Charles Fleetwood	
1655	Henry Cromwell	Deputy
1659	Chancellor Steel	
	Chancellor Baron Corbet	Lieutenant
	Maurice Eustace Lord Chancellor	
1660	Roger Earl of Orrery	Deputy
	Charles Earl of Montrath	
1652	James Butler D. of Ormond	Lieutenant
1663	Thomas Earl of Offory	
1665	Duke of Ormond	Deputy
1668	Earl of Offory	
1669	John Lord Roberts.	Lieutenant
1670	John Lord Berkley	
1671	Lord Arch. B. of Dublin.	Deputy
	Sir Arthur Forbes	
1671	John Lord Berkley	Lieutenant
1672	Henry Capil E. Essex	
1678	Duke of Ormond	Lieutenant
1684	Lord Primate	
	Lord Grannard	Deputy
1685	E. of Clarendon	
1686	E. of Tyrconnel	Lieutenant
1690	Lord Viscount Sydney	
	The Cosingsby Esq;	Deputy
1692.	Lord Viscount Sydney	

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*A Catalogue of Books Printed for N. Crouch,  
at the Bell in the Poultry near Cheapside.*

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*Books Printed for, &c.*

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